

THE
MODERN TRAVELLER.

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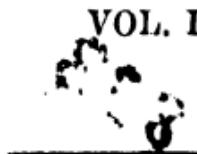
POPULAR DESCRIPTION,
GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

EGYPT, NUBIA, AND ABYSSINIA.

VOL. I.



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CONTENTS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

	PAGE
BOUNDARIES OF EGYPT.....	1
ETYMOLOGY OF THE VARIOUS APPELLATIONS...	2
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.....	6
GEOLOGICAL PHENOMENA.....	15
NATURAL HISTORY	21
THE NILE.....	28
CLIMATE AND SEASONS.....	53
TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.....	55
POPULATION	58
EARLY HISTORY OF EGYPT.....	59
SESOSTRIS.....	76
PHARAOH NECHO	88
AMASIS	90
PERSIAN INVASION.....	92
MACEDONIAN CONQUEST.....	93
ROMAN CONQUEST.....	99
INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY	101
RISE OF MONACHISM	103
ATHANASIUS	107
DEMOLITION OF THE TEMPLE OF SERAPIS.....	109
ORIGIN OF THE COPTIC SCHISM.....	113
SARACENIC INVASION.....	119
SALADIN.....	120
MAMLOUK DYNASTIES.....	128
OTTOMAN CONQUEST.....	130
ALI BEY	134
FRENCH INVASION	142
LANDING OF THE BRITISH.....	147
LIFE OF MOHAMMED ALI.....	154

	PAGE
DIFFERENT CLASSES OF THE POPULATION.....	169
DESCRIPTION OF THE EGYPTIAN ARABS.....	171
THE COPTS.....	176
TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION—ALEXANDRIA...	180
ROSETTA	216
FROM ROSETTA TO MENOUF	224
DAMIETTA	238
CAIRO.....	257
THE PYRAMIDS	296
MEMPHIS	339
ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE PYRAMIDS.....	353

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PLATES.

<i>MAP of EGYPT</i>	<i>to face the Title.</i>
<i>VIEW of CAIRO</i>	PAGE 259
<i>The PYRAMIDS from OLD CAIRO</i>	296

THE
MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

E G Y P T.

[A country of Africa, comprising the Valley of the Nile, between N. lat. $24^{\circ} 6'$ and $31^{\circ} 35'$: bounded, on the N., by the Mediterranean; on the E., by the Isthmus of Suez and the Red Sea; on the S., by Nubia; and on the W., by the Libyan desert.]

E G Y P T is in many points of view one of the most interesting regions in the world. Its antiquities are of the most curious and impressive character, for the most part unique, and carrying us back for their origin to the earliest annals of history. It belongs at once to classic and to sacred geography. Egypt was the parent of Grecian wisdom, the inventress of science; the oracle of nations, the fountain-head of philosophy, in whose schools Moses, and Pythagoras, and Plato exhausted the treasures of human learning. It was, in ancient times, the connecting link between India and Greece, as it is now between the African and the Asiatic countries, forming one of the portals to that hitherto impenetrable portion of the Old Continent. Its ancient monuments, its physical features, its geographical position, its proverbial fertility, its commercial importance, combine to render the “land

of Egypt," in the eyes of the scientific traveller, the statesman, and the philanthropist, the most attractive portion of the eastern world.

The name by which this country is known to Europeans, comes to us from the Greeks, whose historians affirm, that a certain king *Ægyptus*, the son of Belus and brother of Danaus, gave his name to his dominions, which, before that time, were called Aëria. In the Hebrew Scriptures, Egypt is denominated the land of Mizraim or Mitsraim ; * and the Arabians and other Orientals still know it by the name of Mesr or Mizr. By its ancient inhabitants, it was called Chemia ; † the appellation which it retains to the present day among the Copts. This name, which seems to correspond to the Hebrew Ham or Cham, and the Malay *Syama*, is stated by Plutarch to have been given to the country on account of the blackness of the soil ; ‡ and the same reason is assigned for its

* Mizraim is enumerated (Gen. x. 6) among the sons of Ham. As the word is in the plural number, Calmet supposes that it denotes the people of the country, rather than the father of the people. In Micah, vii. 12, and other places, the word occurs in the singular, Masor or Mezr, which corresponds to the modern appellation. Josephus calls Egypt Mestra ; the Septuagint Translators, Mestralm ; Eusebius and Suidas, Mestraia. Mezr appears to have been the name both of the capital, afterwards called Memphis, and of the territory ; and Mizraim, Calmet thinks, may have denoted the Upper and the Lower Mezr. The word is of uncertain derivation, but may plausibly be conjectured to imply a plain or valley bounded by mountains.—See CALMET'S *Dict.*, art. *Mizor* and *Mizraim*. The Coptic name of Old Cairo is still Mistrain : the Syrians and Arabs call it Masra or Massera.

† See Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, p. 364. Shaw's *Travels*, fol., p. 432. Calmet's *Dict.*, art. *Ham*. Pso-chemmis and Psitta-chemmis were districts of Egypt.

‡ Plutarch's words are remarkable : Την Αιγυπτίου εν τοις μελισσα μελαγχειον ούσαν, ωσπερ το μελαν του οφθαλμου, Χημια καλουσιν. The coincidence of name between the valley

bearing the name of Aëria, which has a similar signification, and seems to have been a translation of the native word.* Egypt (*Αιγυπτος*) is a name of very doubtful etymology.† Homer, Diodorus Siculus, and Xenophon speak of the Nile under this appellation.‡ Eusebius, who is supposed to have followed Manetho, the Egyptian historian, states, that Rameses or Ra-

of the Nile and that of the Meinam, or, as it has been denominated, the Siamese Nile, is the more remarkable on account of the similar character of the two countries as regards the soil, productions, and other phenomena.

* From *Ἄηρ*, darkness, blackness—*παρα το μελαιναν ειναι την γην*, says the Scholiast on Apollonius. Bryant, who cites this passage, represents it as a vulgar error; but his reasoning is, as usual, unsatisfactory. He supposes the Greeks to have ignorantly confounded *Aur*, fire, with *Aér*, the atmosphere. *Aur* or *Ur*, he tells us, signifies light or heat, which is one of the senses attributed to the Hebrew *Cham*. But if *Cham* signifies "heat and the consequence of heat," blackness, Aëria would still be a legitimate rendering of *Chemia*, or the land of *Cham*, in the acceptation ascribed to it by the Scholiast.—See BRYANT's *Mythol.*, vol. vi. p. 149; i. 3. Egypt is referred to in the Old Testament (Psalm cv. 23,) as "the land of Ham." If the word be correctly rendered in that place as a proper name, it only implies that it was peopled by his descendants. Africa, however, was by no means peculiarly distinguished by this circumstance. The Asiatic *Cush* or *Ethiopia*, *Shinar* or *Sennaar*, *Sabaea*, and *Canaan* or *Palestine*, were also possessed by the Chamitic tribes, while Egypt was for ages under the dominion of Semitic princes. If Aëria had any reference to the air, as Bryant supposes, it was probably only a poetical designation of Egypt as the supposed kingdom of *Ham*, the same as *Zeus* or *Jupiter*. Aëria was an appellation also given to Thessaly.

† Some writers, seeking for its etymology in Greek, have derived it from *Αια*, country, and *γυψος*, burned earth; or from *γυψ*, or *αιγυψιον*, the black vulture, the colour of that bird (whence the Latin *subvulturius*, blackish,) being considered as characteristic of the soil or its inhabitants.—See REES's *Cyclop.*, and *Ency. Britan.*

‡ Hesychius, accordingly, derives the name of the country from the river. Eustathius translates it *μελας*, black; and renders *Αιγυπτιας* by *Επικαιουσαι*.

messes, who reigned in Egypt (according to Usher) B.C. 1577, was also called *Ægyptus*, and that he gave his name to his territories. The version of the story given by Apollodorus is, that Belus sent Danaus to Libya, and *Ægyptus* to Arabia, and that the latter, having laid waste the land of the *Melampodes* (Negroes), called it Egypt, after his own name.* The probability is, that Gyptos or Kûbtos was originally, like Mizr, the name of an ancient city, which took its name either from its founder, or from a dedicatory appellation.† *Aia-Guptos* will then be the land of Guptos, the prefix answering to the Hebrew *aretz* and the Persian *sthan*; and in those early times, we find the territory almost uniformly receiving its name from the city. If *Ægyptus* was really the surname of an individual, it may have been adopted from that of the country, as Scipio assumed that of Africanus; but it could never have been applied to the river, otherwise than by ellipsis or through mistake. It is remarkable, that the ancient Chronicle makes a distinction between the Mestraean race of princes and the Egyptian; the latter appellation being applied to the new dynasty of sovereigns commencing with Sethos I., the *Ægyptus* of Manetho.

The name by which the Nile was known to the Hebrews, is the *Sihor* (or *Sichor*), answering to the

* The ancients included all the country on the eastern side of the Nile in Arabia, and that on the western bank in Libya. Thus *Ægyptus* is by Leo the grammarian called Chibth; and the Turks are said to call the Copts *Kibs*.

† Dr. Wells supposes, that the name is composed of the Greek *Aia*, a land or country, and *Coptus*, the name of a city in Egypt. *Hist. Geog.*, vol. i. p. 200. Mede conceives it to be *Aia Cuphti*, the and of Cuphti. Bruce says, that *Y Gypt*, the name given to Egypt in Ethiopia, means the country of canals.

Greek *Melas* and the Latin *Niger*;* and this name it is stated to have borne on account of its black and turbid waters, or rather the black slime which it deposited.† The Greeks are said to have known it both under the name of *Melas*, and that of *Siris*, which is supposed to have been a corruption of *Sihor*.‡ The name which it now bears, is of very ancient date; and the Greeks, ignorant of its meaning, pretended that it was derived from a king *Nileus*, as they supposed the Red Sea to be so named from a king *Erythros*. It appears, however, to have been given by the Arabians, *Bahr el Nil* signifying in Arabic, the Blue River; §

* Josh. xiii. 3. Jer. ii. 18. "SICHOR, *fluvius Aegypti NILUS, Græcis μελας, niger, ob turbidas limo aquas: Latinis Melo.*" (Schindl. Lex. in Shaw.) So Calmet. May not this explain how the Nile and the Niger have been confounded? Pliny states, on the authority of king Juba, that the Nile was called Niger in Mauritania; and such, it appears, was its ancient name. Little stress can be laid on the names of rivers. There is no end to Black Rivers under the names of *Niger*, *Rio Negro*, *Rio Preto*, *Kara-su*, &c. &c. And we have almost as many black countries; *Ethiopia*, *Mauritania*, *Nigritia*, *Karamania*, *Siam*, &c.

† So Virgil, (Georg. iv. 291):

"*Et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat arend.*"

One of the epithets applied to Egypt was *μελανοσυγματος*, black-flooded. (Aristoph. *Thesm.* 864).

‡ Mr. Bruce affirms that this name (*Siris*), in the country of Beja, imports the River of the Dog-star, on the vertical appearance of which this river overflows. He states, moreover, that by the Gongas, on the south of Mounts Dyre and Tagli, the Abyssinian Nile is called *Dahli*, and by those on the northern side *Kowass*, both which words imply the dog-star. By the Agows, it is named *Gzeir*, *Geesa*, or *Selr*. In Gojam, it is said to be called *Gihon*; also *Abay*, the overflowing, and the father of rivers. The river to which these various names are said to be applied, is the eastern branch of the Nile, the *Bahr-el-Azrek*, supposed to be the ancient *Astapus*.

§ *Nil* is the Arabic for blue, and *nileh* is indigo: hence, the Spanish *anil*, by which word indigo is known in Mexico and Colombia. Shaw, following Calmet, derives *Nilus* from the Hebrew

and this name they seem to have transferred to the Egyptian river from the *Bahr el Azrek*, or Blue River of Abyssinia, the confluence of which with the *Bahr el Abiad*, or White River, forms the stream properly denominated the Nile.

The waters of the Nile itself vary exceedingly in colour as well as in volume and quality, according to the season. When the waters begin to rise in Egypt, the river first assumes a green colour, and it is then corrupt and unwholesome. In thirty or forty days, it changes to a brownish red, and becomes very turbid. This continues till the waters subside, when it resumes its natural muddy appearance. Its various names are easily accounted for. Those who knew it only in the lower part of its course, where its periodical inundation covers so wide an extent with its fertilizing slime, called it the Black River. The name of Nile has travelled downwards from Ethiopia.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

THE land of Egypt may be described as an immense valley or longitudinal basin, terminating in a *delta*, or triangular plain, of alluvial formation; being, altogether, from the heights of Syene to the shores of the Mediterranean, about 600 miles in length and of various width. From Syene to Cairo, a distance of about 500 miles, the valley is about eight miles

Nahhal, a brook, which refutes itself. The prophet Nahum is supposed to refer to it as a sea (ch. iii. 8). And, in fact, the word *bahr* or *nahris* applied indifferently to a sea and a large river; as *bahr el Nil*, and *bahr Souf*, the Red Sea. Shaw was misled by his confounding the *Nachal Mitzraini*, or Egyptian stream of Rhinocorura, the boundary of Palestine, with the Nile. See on this subject, Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. art. 29. The Egyptian name for the Nile seems to have been simply, *Phiaro*, the River.

broad, hemmed in by two mountain ridges, the one extending eastward to the Red Sea, and the other terminating westward in the Libyan deserts. The following general description of the country is given by M. Malte Brun.

“ From Syene, as far as the strait called *Djebel Silsili*, a distance of about forty miles, the river occupies the middle of the valley, having very little arable land on its banks ; but there are some islands, which, from their low level, easily admit of irrigation. Beyond the mouth of the *Djebel Silsili*, the Nile runs along the right side of the valley, which, in several places, has the appearance of a steep line of rocks cut into peaks ; while the ridge of hills on the left side, is always accessible by a slope of various degrees of steepness. These western mountains begin near Siout, and extend southward to Fayoom, diverging gradually to the west ; so that between them and the cultivated valley, there is a desert space, gradually becoming wider, and bordered in several places, on the valley side, by a line of sandy downs lying nearly north and south.

“ The mountains which confine the upper part of the basin, are intersected by defiles, leading, on the one side, to the Red Sea, and on the other, to the Oases. These narrow passes might be habitable, since the winter rains maintain for a time a degree of vegetation, and form springs, which the Arabs use for themselves and their flocks. The stripe of desert land which generally extends along each side of the valley, parallel to the course of the Nile, (and which must not be confounded with the ocean of barren sand which lies on each side of Egypt,) now contains two very distinct kinds of land. The one, immediately at the

bottom of the mountains, consists of sand and round pebbles ; the other, composed of light drifting sand, covers an extent of ground formerly arable. The surface on both sides declines from the margin of the river to the foot of the hills ; a circumstance remarked also on the banks of the Mississippi, the Po, part of the Borysthenes, and some other rivers. Near Beni-Sooef, the valley, already much widened on the west, has on that side an opening, through which is obtained a view of the fertile plains of Fayoom. These plains are, properly speaking, a sort of table-land, separated from the mountains on the north and west by a wide valley, a part of which, being always laid under water, forms what the inhabitants call *Birket-el-Karoon*.

“ Near Cairo, the mountains diverge on both sides ; the one ridge, under the name of *Djebel-el-Nairon*, running in a north-westerly direction to the Mediterranean ; the other, called *Djebel-el-Attaka*, running due east to Suez. In front of these chains, extends a vast plain composed of sands covered with the mud of the Nile. At the place called *Bahr-el-Bakara*, the river divides into two branches, the one flowing to Rosetta, the other to Damietta, and containing between them the present Delta. This triangular piece of insulated land was in former times much larger, being bounded, on the east, by the Pelusian branch, which is now choked up with sand, or converted into marshy pools. On the west, it was bounded by the Canopic branch, which is now partly confounded with the canal of Alexandria, and partly lost in Lake Etko. The correspondence of the level of the surface to that of the present Delta, and its depression as compared with the level of the adjoining desert, together with its greater verdure and fertility,

still mark the limits of the ancient Delta ; although irregular encroachments are made by shifting banks of drifting sand, which are on the increase.”*

For a more particular description of the geological structure and character of this wonderful country, we shall avail ourselves of a very able article in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.

“ The mountains which form the natural boundaries of the Egyptian valley, are, on many accounts, highly deserving of attention. From them, under the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Antonines, were drawn the materials, not only of the stupendous monuments which still make Egypt a land of wonders, but also for many of the public buildings in Italy, the remains of which attest the genius of the Roman artists, and the munificence of the emperors. About the 24th degree of N. latitude, a granitic chain closes in on each side of the river, so as to wear the appearance of having been rent by the stream, which forces its way through fragments of rock. Hence, the almost innumerable islands to the north of Philœ, as far as Aswan (Assouan). The cataracts a little to the south of that town, are nothing more than rapids, which might arise from a contraction of the bed of the stream ; there is, however, most probably, in that tract of country, a considerable change in the level of the soil. The bold, but wild and gloomy precipices which here overhang the stream, as well as the roar of its waters rushing through a multitude of channels, (for, even when the inundation is at its height, there are twenty large islands in the midst of the river,) were well calculated to work upon the imagination of the early inhabitants ; and their belief that Osiris re-

* *Malte Brun's Geog.*, vol. iv. pp. 21—23.

mainly buried in those abysses as long as the stream was confined within its banks, but rose from the grave, to scatter his blessings over the land, as soon as the accumulated waters were poured forth on all sides, was fostered, if not created, by the physical peculiarities of this overawing though desolate region. The granite or southern district extends from Philœ to Aswan, (in lat. $24^{\circ} 8' 6''$ N. ; long. $33^{\circ} 4'$ E.,) and is formed, for the most part, by rocks of Syenite or Oriental granite, in which the quarries may yet be seen, from which the ancients drew the stupendous masses required for their colossal statues and obelisks. Between Aswan and Esna (in lat. $25^{\circ} 19' 39''$ N.,) is the sandstone, or middle district, which supplied slabs for most of the temples ; and beyond it, the northern or calcareous district stretches to the southern angle of the Delta. This last chain of hills furnished not only the solid part of the pyramids, but materials also for many public buildings long since destroyed, because they proved excellent stores of lime and stone for the Arabs and other barbarians by whom Egypt has been desolated for so many centuries. The steep, perpendicular cliffs of this calcareous rock give a monotonous and unpicturesque aspect to this part of Egypt ; while the boldness and grotesque forms of the mountains in the south, offer new points of view in continual succession, even when the inundation is at its greatest height.

“ On each side of the river below Aswan (Syene), steep, abrupt sandstone cliffs, presenting a continued line of ancient quarries, hem in the stream ; and the valley, which opens gradually, closes again at the distance of 12 leagues (about 36 geographical miles), where it is reduced to one-fourth of its former width, and lofty walls of rock on each side barely leave a

passage for the water. This is now called *Jebel-el-Silsileh* (Mountain of the Chain); and from its quarries, the materials used in the temples at Thebes were drawn. Below these narrows, the valley gradually widens, but the eastern bank continues to present one uninterrupted perpendicular wall, while, on the west, there is a gradual, and generally an easy ascent, to the Desert. Another contraction of the valley occurs about 56 geographical miles lower down, ten miles to the north of Esna, where the rock does not leave even a footpath near the river, and the traveller by land must make a considerable circuit in order to reach the place where the hills for the third time recede. This passage, called *Jebelein* (the two hills), leads to the plains of Ermont and Thebes (in lat. $25^{\circ} 44' N.$); for here, the land on each side of the river spreads out into so wide a level as really to form a plain in comparison with the rugged banks of the stream higher up. It is at this place that the sandstone terminates, and the freestone begins. The banks are no longer straight and parallel, but diverge in various directions, forming many bays and creeks; while the country, rising on each side almost imperceptibly towards the hills, presents a nearly even surface of cultivable soil about two leagues in width. This, which is the first level of any extent below the Cataracts, is the site of the most ancient and celebrated capital of Egypt, Thebes; the ruins of which cover a large proportion of the valley. It is remarkable, that the distance from Thebes to the Cataracts, one extremity of the country, is exactly the same as that between Memphis, the subsequent capital, and the sea, the other extremity; namely, 40 leagues, or 120 geographical miles. The calcareous chain continues from this point, on each side of the valley, to the head of the Delta,

where the hills open to the east and west, uniting with the Libyan chain on one side, and bending towards the mountains of Arabia Petraea on the other. This chain, though generally calcareous, is occasionally, especially near the Desert, broken by isolated rocks of sandstone.

"At Denderah (Tentyris), 12 leagues N. of Thebes, the Nile, again hemmed in by the hills, turns nearly at right angles, and runs directly from east to west as far as the site of Abydus (*Medfun* or *El Birba*), where it resumes its northerly direction, and, entering another spacious and fertile valley, passes by Jirjeh and Osyut (or Siout). Near the latter place, the Libyan chain begins to bend towards the west; and the descent from the Desert becomes so gradual, that the country is on that side much exposed to clouds of sand, by which it would have been overwhelmed long since, but for the canal called *Bahr Yusuf* (Joseph's River), which secures the irrigation of the land between itself and the Nile, and thus prevents the further encroachment of the Desert. Here, the *Said*, or upper division of Egypt terminates, and the *Wustani*, or middle region, extending as far as the fork of the Delta, commences. The more the valley of the Nile gains in width, and the western mountains lose in height, the greater is the danger from its proximity to the Libyan Desert. That remarkable portion of Africa (*El Sahra*) is, for the most part, covered with sand or very fine gravel, the minuter particles of which are, at certain seasons, carried by tempestuous gales over a great extent of country. It is manifest, that, the less the ground is cultivated, the fewer the trees and shrubs it bears; and the more its irrigation is neglected, the more rapidly will the sand from the Desert encroach on the plains or valleys near the river. The cultivable tracts,

therefore, in the middle and lower Egypt, have long been daily decreasing ; and were it not for the canal just mentioned, few spots uncovered by sand would have remained on the western bank of the Nile.

“ Beyond Beni-Suweif (in lat. $29^{\circ} 9' 12''$ N.), the Libyan chain of hills again closes in towards the N.E., and forms the northern boundary of the large basin between *Deirut-el-Sherif* and *Atfih* ; but, at *El Ilahun*, to the N.W. of the former, it is broken by one of the many transverse valleys, and thus opens a passage into the province of Fayyum (or Fayoum). Beyond that vale, which is merely a large bay or sinuosity in the border of these mountains, they approach the river with a steeper declivity, and have a nearly level summit overlooking the country below. This table-land, between the Nile and Fayyum, was chosen for the site of the Pyramids. On its north-western side, the hills shelve off in that direction, and terminate in the cliffs and promontories which mark the coast of ancient Cyrenaica. The eastern or Arabian chain has generally more transverse breaks and ravines, is more lofty and rugged, and comes closer to the river, than the hills on the opposite side. The northern part of it is called *El Mokattam* (the hewn), probably from the quarries formed in its sides, and is connected by several inferior ranges with the mountains of Arabia Petræa.

“ Of the transverse valleys leading to the Red Sea, the best known are, the Valley of Cosseir, and that of the Wanderings of the Children of Israel : the former is the most frequented road between the Upper Egypt and the sea ; and the latter, the route probably followed by the Israelites on their return to the promised land. But, besides these, there are five or six others at present known, and several, probably, unex-

plored. Some were much frequented anciently, which are now rarely, if ever visited : such have been the ruinous consequences of misgovernment, by which the commerce of Egypt has dwindled to almost nothing. Towns upon the Red Sea, once flourishing emporiums, have ceased to exist ; and Berenice, anciently celebrated for its wealth and commerce, is now so completely forgotten, that even the road to it was unknown till traced a few years ago by MM. Cailliaud and Belzoni. The narrow ravines between the hills on the western side were, till very lately, equally unknown, though the Oases, and the roads leading to them, were described by the Greeks and Arabs. Two lead from Jirjeh and Esna into the Greater Oasis (*El Wah-el-kharijeh*), and one from Fayyum into the smaller (*El Wah-el-dakhileh*). On the western side of the Delta, the direction of the valleys is nearly from S.E. to N.W. ; and *Siyah*, or *Shantariyyeh*, the Oasis of Ammon, is connected with Egypt by branches which diverge more towards the west, from the *Bahr Bilama* (Waterless Sea), *i. e.* the celebrated desert called *Scete*, or the Valley of Natron." *

The tract comprehended in the *Bahr Bilama* (more properly *Bahr-bela-mayeh*) and the basin of the Natron lakes, is one of the most remarkable features in the geography of the country. These two valleys are parallel to each other, being separated by a low ridge. The mountain of Natron skirts the whole length of the valley of the same name : it contains none of the rocks which are found scattered about in the valleys, such as quartz, jasper, and petro-silex ; and this circumstance has given rise to the opinion that the stones must have been conveyed thither by a branch of the

Nile, which is supposed to have found its way formerly in this direction through the Waterless Valley, to the Mediterranean. There is now a series of six lakes in the Valley of Natron, the banks of which, as well as the surface of the waters, are covered with crystallizations both of muriate of soda and carbonate of soda or natron. The muriate of soda is the first to crystallize, and the natron is subsequently deposited in a separate layer. This singular valley contains four Greek monasteries, the inmates of which subsist on a small quantity of leguminous seeds. The vegetation in these valleys has a wild and dreary aspect: the palms are mere bushes, and bear no fruit. Caravans occasionally visit it in quest of natron. The Valley of *Bahr-bela-mayeh* has, for the most part, a breadth of eight miles. In the sand with which the surface is every where covered, trunks of trees have been found in a state of complete petrifaction, together with a vertebral bone. That these countries have undergone violent revolutions, is certain; but at what period or periods the changes took place, can only be conjectured. With regard to the extent of the modern encroachments of the Desert, authorities are much at variance, and M. Malte Brun contends, that they have been greatly exaggerated. The Delta, however, has evidently undergone a considerable reduction of arable land, both on the south-east and south-west, where the Desert has gained upon it, and on the north, where the sea has reduced a large tract to the same state by throwing up the sand.

The Valley of Cosseir is covered with a sand partly calcareous, partly quartzose: the mountains are of limestone and sandstone. On approaching Cosseir, three different formations successively present themselves: the first, a fine-grained granite; the second, a peculiar

sort of pudding-stone, known by the name of *breccia di verde*; the third, a rock of a slaty texture, containing rounded masses of the same breccia, and connected with it by gradual transitions. This extends for about thirty miles. "At the fountains of *El Aoosh-Lambageh*, there is a leading chain of schistose mountains, enclosing rock-crystal and steatitic rocks; but, within eight miles of Cosseir, the mountains suddenly change their character, a great part of them consisting of limestone or alabaster in strata, lying almost always north and south. Here are found the *debris* of the *ostrea diluviana*. The bottom of the valley, covered with immense rocky fragments, presents a numberless variety of materials; sometimes serpentines, sometimes compound rocks, or a particular kind of steatite, with nodules of schistose spar. Towards the valley of Suez, the mountains are calcareous, and, in several places, are composed of concreted shells. In the valley of the wilderness, sea salt is found in thin compact layers, supported by strata of gypsum. In many of the surrounding deserts, this salt is very common, sometimes crystallized under the sand, sometimes on the surface." *

In Upper Egypt, the mountains near Edfou are composed of slate, sandstone, white and rose-coloured quartz, and brown pebbles, mixed with white cornelians. Near the ruins of Silsilis, the granitic rocks contain cornelian, jasper, and serpentine. A little higher up the river, the granite alternates with decomposed sandstone, forming on the surface a friable crust, giving the appearance of ruins. The quarries of Philæ, Elephantine, and Syene produce the beautiful Oriental or rose-coloured granite, called by Pliny

* Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 28.

Syenites, from the city near which it abounds, and Thebaic-stone, from its being so much used in the edifices of Thebes, but differing from the Syenite of modern geologists. Two thirds of its mass are formed by felspar, varying in colour from a pale pink to a brick red: the other third consists of mica with a metallic lustre, and translucent quartz. The rose-coloured variety is confined, apparently, to the vicinity of Elephantine, though it is found unmixed for some distance on both sides of the Nile. It is connected, by numerous shades and variations, with the common granite and the succeeding species of rock.* Its extreme hardness, together with the uniform dryness of the air, accounts for the wonderfully perfect state in which monuments of remote antiquity are found in this country.

In the neighbourhood of the pyramids are found the Ethiopian jasper, the quartz rock with amphibole, and the coarsely-veined quartzose agate, commonly called the Egyptian pebble. In the Borgian Museum at Velletri, there is a fine collection of mineralogical specimens obtained from Egypt. They comprise, besides the varieties above enumerated, a dark-brown micaceous schist, potstone, marble with veins of silvery mica, swinestone, porphyry, (composed of petro-silex with crystals of felspar,) jaspers of all varieties, the

* Among these varieties are, the fine-grained *granitello* of lapidaries; grey syenite, when the felspar is grey; black and white granite (*nero-e-bianco*), when the felspar is white and the mica black; Egyptian or oriental basalt (*basalte antico*), in which the mica and hornblende prevail in black, homogeneous masses, with scarcely any mixture of felspar: the oriental granite sometimes contains a small quantity of hornblende, and then becomes the syenite of Werner. Malte Brun remarks, that the syenite which forms the coating of the pyramid of Mycerinus, is believed to be the *pyro-paeccylon* of Pliny.

30833

topaz or chrysolite of the ancients, amethyst, rock-crystal, chalcedony, onyx, heliotrope, obsidian, and lapis-lazuli, but no emeralds ; together with numerous specimens of basalt, the Ethiopian stone of Herodotus and Strabo.*

Almost the whole of the productive soil of Egypt consists of mud deposited by the Nile ; and the Delta, as in all similar tracts of country, is entirely composed of alluvial earth and sand. To ascertain the depth of this bed, the French *savans* who accompanied the military expedition into Egypt, sank several wells at distant intervals ; and from their observations have been obtained the following results. First, that the surface of the soil, as already mentioned, descends more or less rapidly towards the foot of the hills, which is the reverse of what occurs in most valleys ; secondly, that the depth of the bed of mud is unequal, being, in general, about five feet near the river, and increasing gradually as it recedes from it ; thirdly, that, beneath the mud, there is a bed of sand similar to that always brought down by the river. The first-mentioned peculiarity is satisfactorily explained by the absence of rain, which, in other countries, washes down the soil from the hills, and carrying it to the stream in the bottom of the valley, forms a basin, the sides of which have a concave surface ; whereas, in Egypt, the soil is conveyed by the inundation from the river into the valley, and the deposits therefore will be greatest near its banks. The more rapid the current, also, the smaller will be the quantity of mud deposited. The bed of quartzose sand upon which it rests, is about thirty-six feet in depth, and is super-

* See, for authorities, Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 27, &c., and Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt.

posed on the calcareous rock which forms the basis of the lower country. The waters of the river filter through this bed of sand, and springs are found as soon as the borer has reached any considerable depth.

The line of coast which bounds the Delta on the north, and forms the base of the triangle, is about 150 miles in length : its height, or the length of the plain up the Nile, is about 100. Its irregular shape, however, by no means corresponds to the figure of the Greek *delta*. Scylax, the Geographer, compares it to that of an axe or hatchet (*πιλικυς*) ; but the natives, deeming it more like the section of a pear, called it *Rab* or *Rib*, and *Arib*, a name which, softened into *Rif* and *Erif*, it bears to the present day.* It is also called *Bahari*, or the Maritime Country. Assigning to Upper Egypt an average breadth of ten miles, and allowing for the lateral valleys stretching out from the Delta, it is supposed that the portion of territory capable of cultivation, may amount to about 16,000 square miles, or, in round numbers, ten millions of acres, which is nearly one-half that of Ireland.† The total population of

* This appears to be the meaning of the word *Rahab*, *Rehib*, or *Erib*, applied to Egypt, Psal. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10, Isa. xxx. 7, and Isa. li. 9, which has so much perplexed many commentators, and which some have confounded with *Rachab*. At Malta, there is a conical hill called *Djebet al Rahab* for a similar reason. See Bryant's Mythology, vol. vi. p. 128; Calmet's Dict. art. *Rahab*. Abulfeda and Ebn Haukal divide Egypt into the *Rif* and the *Said*, i.e. the coast and the high country. Leo Africanus calls the former *Errif* or *Errifia* ; i.e. *tellus pyriformis*, the pear-shaped land. So the Peloponnesus received the name of Morea from its imagined resemblance to the figure of a mulberry-leaf; and the city of Granada is supposed to have been so named from a fanciful resemblance to a split pomegranate.

† See Quart. Rev. vol. xxx. p. 495. M. Girard, however, estimates the mean width of the valley between Syene and Cairo at not more than nine miles, and the whole area of cultivable soil (not including the oases and lateral valleys) at about 11,000 square miles.

Egypt is estimated at about two millions and a half, which would give about 156 to every square mile. Its relative population, therefore, though not equal to that of Ireland, almost comes up to that of France, and far exceeds that of Austria, Prussia, or Spain.* Nearly one half of this territory, it is supposed, is either periodically inundated, or capable of artificial irrigation. The remaining part requires a more laborious cultivation, and yields a more scanty produce. The inundated lands, though they have successively borne one crop, and frequently two, year after year, without intermission, for more than 3000 years, still retain their ancient fertility, without any perceptible impoverishment, and without any further tillage than the adventitious top-dressing of black, slimy mould by the overflowing of the river.† Where the inundation does not reach, the crops are very scanty: wheat does not yield above five or six for one; but, for maize and millet, the soil is particularly adapted, and these, with

* See Humboldt's Pers. Nar., vol. vi. part 1, note B. The population of Egypt is stated by the learned Author, at 2,489,000, and 1777 by the square league in the cultivated part. That of Ireland, by the square league, is 2545; that of France, 1790; that of Prussia, 1311; that of Spain, 763. Palestine comprised, in the time of David, upwards of five millions, or between 6 and 7000 to the square league. (See Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i. art. 26.) Egypt must have been capable of affording subsistence to a still larger proportion; and if so, its population would not be in excess under a wise administration, at 10,000,000.

† The analysis of the mud of the Nile gives nearly one-half of argillaceous earth, about one-fourth carbonate of lime, the remainder consisting of oxyde of iron, carbonate of magnesia, and water. On the banks, the mud is mixed with much sand, which it loses in proportion as it is carried further from the river, so that, at a certain distance, it consists of almost pure argil, which forms excellent bricks, tobacco-pipes, terra-cotta, and stucco. The cultivators consider it as sufficient manure.—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 26.

rice, lentils, and pulse, constitute the principal food of nine-tenths of the inhabitants, allowing of the exportation of the greater part of the wheat produced. Taking, then, into consideration, the quantity of land once arable, which is now covered with sand, the double harvest, and, of some productions, more than semi-annual crops,* the smaller quantity of food which is requisite to sustain life in southern latitudes, and the extent to which the more barren soil was formerly rendered available by the cultivation of the olive, the fig-tree, the vine, and the date-palm; we shall no longer be at a loss to account for the immense fertility and populousness of ancient Egypt.†

The whole space lying between the Red Sea and the Libyan Oasis, comprehends, according to Humboldt, 11,000 square marine leagues, of which seven-eighths are now desert. The present pasha has reclaimed some long-neglected tracts of country, by clearing out the ancient canals, and digging others, for the purpose of extending the culture of the cotton plant, to which the soil appears to be particularly adapted. He has also established a colony of Syrians in the valley of Toumlaut, for the cultivation of the mulberry and the rearing of silk-worms. Indigo, safflower (*carthamus*),

* Michaelis remarks, in reference to Palestine, that "in the 32d parallel of latitude, the same ground, treated as a garden, may be cropped oftener within the year than with us; an advantage for which Moses expressly celebrates Palestine in Deut. xxxiii. 14." (Laws of Moses, vol. i. p. 105.) By "the precious productions of the sun" and "the precious fruits of the moon," it is supposed that we are to understand annual and monthly productions; the former consisting of such as wheat, barley, grapes; the latter, figs, olives, &c. of which they had many crops in a year. See Rev. xxii. 2.

† Egypt is stated to have contained anciently 7,500,000 souls, which is not incredible; but some authors have carried the estimate as high as twenty millions, an obvious exaggeration.

and hinneh, for dyes, are extensively cultivated in the irrigated lands. The best wheat grows at Maraga, in Upper Egypt; the district of Akmin yields the largest crops. Barley, with six rows of grains in the ear, forms a large proportion of the food given to cattle and horses. The best rice grows in the province of Damietta, and a little is grown in some other districts. The melons and cucumbers grow "almost visibly:" in twenty-four hours, they gain twenty-four inches in bulk, but are generally watery and insipid. The tobacco is weak, but reckoned much pleasanter than that of America. Besides these productions, the inundated lands are cultivated with flax, anise, sesamum, mustard, beans, lupins, lentils, vetches, Egyptian trefoil, and lettuce. The irrigated lands of Upper Egypt are sown chiefly with the *holcus doura* or millet, which is sometimes eaten, like maize, in a green state, being previously roasted on the fire, and its stalk is eaten green, like sugar-cane. The grain is ground into meal, of which are made thin cakes like muffins; the dried pith of the stalk is used as starch; the leaf is the food of cattle; and the stalk itself is used as fuel for heating ovens. Upper Egypt produces also, in the irrigated lands, (chiefly in the province of Minyeh,) the sugar-cane, the growth of which is completed in a single season, as at Mazanderan on the shores of the Caspian; and a little sugar-cane, as well as indigo, cotton, *doura*, and maize, is produced in the *Sharkiyeh*, to the east of the ancient Delta. A few pot-herbs are cultivated in the neighbourhood of the towns. Fayoom is distinguished for the cultivation of rose-bushes, from which is obtained the rose-water which is in so great request all over the East.* There are also some

* This is the *rosa alba*. The flower is double, of a pale colour, not quite white, but tinged with red, and extremely fragrant. The

olive-plantations in this province, and some Christians manufacture an indifferent wine. The vine is no longer cultivated in any other part of Egypt, except for the sake of its shade and its grapes,* and the olive-tree is only to be met with in gardens.

The almond, the walnut, and the cherry will not grow in Egypt, and neither the pear, the apple, the peach, nor the plum comes to any perfection ; but the citron, the lemon, the pomegranate, the apricot, and the banana or plantain flourish luxuriantly. The sycamore or Pharaoh's fig-tree, (less valued for its fruit than for its deep, broad shade,) the carob-tree, the jujube, the tamarind, and other trees are also found here. But, in point of usefulness as well as number, the date-palm is pre-eminent. It is cultivated both in the inundated and the irrigated lands, and groves of it are to be seen, consisting, sometimes, of several thousands, valued at a piaster each. In Upper Egypt, Hasselquist says, many families subsist almost entirely on dates : in Lower Egypt, they do not eat so many, preferring to sell them.

A large and beautiful fruit-tree, the *persea* of the Greeks, and the *lebakh* of the Arabians, has either

shrubs, Hasselquist says, live to a great age. The *rosa gallica*, or red officinal rose, is common in the gardens at Rosetta and Damietta, and is used for making rose-water, but it has a feeble scent, and is not much valued. The *rosa cinnamomea* is cultivated for its beauty, but is somewhat scarce. Other varieties are found in Upper Egypt, where the name indiscriminately given to every species of rose, is *uard*, which comes very near the Chaldee *jurdeh*.

* "The vine, in ancient times, formed an important branch of culture in Egypt. Antony and Cleopatra inflamed their voluptuous imaginations by drinking the juice of the Mareotic grapes. In the days of Pliny, Sebennytus furnished the Roman tables with their choicest wines. The vines of Foua, mentioned by travellers of the last century, are no longer in existence."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 42.

disappeared from the Egyptian soil, or has not hitherto been recognised in any of the existing species. It is stated to have been introduced from Persia, where its fruit was crude and bitter, and to have acquired from culture the qualities for which it was so celebrated among the ancients ; but it gradually became rare, and had disappeared before A.D. 700. The name *lebak* is now given to a species of acacia (the *mimosa lebbek* of Hasselquist). But the *perse* of the ancients, or the true *hejlilj-lebbakh*, must have been a different tree.*

Another celebrated production of Egypt is the lotus. The plant usually so denominated is a species of water-lily (*nymphæa lotus*), called by the Arabs *nuphar*, which, on the disappearance of the inundation, covers all the canals and pools with its broad, round leaves, amid which the flowers, in the form of cups of bright white or azure, expand on the surface, and have a most elegant appearance. Sonnini says, that its roots form a tubercle, which is gathered when the waters of the Nile subside, and is boiled and eaten like potatoes, which it somewhat resembles in taste. Herodotus states, that the Egyptians not only ate the root, but made a sort of bread of the seed, which resembled that of the poppy. He adds, that there is a second species, the root of which is very grateful, either fresh or dried.† The plant which was chiefly eaten

* The *perse* has been supposed to be the peach-tree, which is a native of Persia. Some persons have imagined the tree in question to be the *aguacate*, to which, in consequence of this conjecture, botanists have given the name of *laurus perse*. Others have attempted to identify it with the *sebosten* ; " but the differences," remarks M. Malte Brun, " are too glaring to allow this hypothesis to be tenable." Latterly it has been designated as the *Balanites Aegyptiaca*.

† See Herodotus. *Euterpe*, § 92. Alpinus (*de Plantis Ægyptiis*),

by the ancient Egyptians, and which is so frequently carved on the ancient monuments, is supposed to be the *nymphæa nelumbo*, or *nelumbium speciosum*, the “sacred bean” of India, now found only in that country. Its seeds, which are about the size of a bean, have a delicate flavour resembling almonds, and its roots also are edible. The lotus of Homer, however, the fruits of which so much delighted the companions of Ulysses, is a very different plant; namely, the *xiziphus lotus (rhamnus)*, or jujube, which bears a fruit the size of a sloe, with a large stone, and is one of the many plants which have been mistakenly fixed on by learned commentators as the *dudaim* (mandrakes) of the sacred writings.

The *papyrus*, not less celebrated in ancient times than the lotus, and which is believed to have disappeared from the banks of the Nile, has been re-discovered in the *cyperus papyrus* of Linnaeus. The *colocasium* is still cultivated in Egypt for its large esculent roots. The banks of the river and of the canals sometimes present coppices of acacia and mimosa, and there are groves of rose-laurel, willow, cassia, and other shrubs. Fayoom contains impenetrable hedges of *cactus* or Indian fig. But, though so rich in plants, Egypt is destitute of timber, and all the fire-wood used is imported from Caramania.

M. Malte Brun has drawn up, from original authorities, a brief Economical Calendar of Egypt, which

speaking of the lotus, says: “This is the white *nenuphar*. The Egyptians, during the heats of summer, eat the whole stalk raw, with the upper parts: they are watery, proper to refresh, and are called *razebil*”—p. 103. Some have supposed the lotus to be intended in Numb. xi. 5, Isa. xix. 6, by the word translated “leeks” and “flags.” The *juba Graeca* or *lotus* of Pliny is the *diospyrus lotus*, a sort of guayacana or ebony.

we shall give as we find it, subjoining, in the form of notes, observations which seem considerably to affect its accuracy.

"In January, lupins, the dolichoes, and cummin are sown in Upper Egypt, while the wheat shoots into ear; and in Lower Egypt, the beans and flax are in flower. The vine, the apricot, and the palm-tree are now pruned. Towards the end of the month, the orange, the citron, and the pomegranate trees begin to be covered with blossoms; and the sugar-cane, senna-leaves, and various kinds of pulse and trefoil are cut.—In February, all the fields are verdant: the sowing of rice begins;* the first barley crop is harvested; cabbages, cucumbers, and melons ripen. The month of March is the blossoming season for the greater part of plants and shrubs: the corn sown in October and November is now gathered.† The first half of April is the time for gathering roses. Almost every sort of corn is cut down and sown at the same time; spelt (maize) and wheat are ripe, as well as the greater part of the leguminous crops; and the Alexandrian trefoil yields a second crop.—The harvest of the winter grain continues during the month of May; *cassia fistula* and *hinneh* are in flower;‡ and the early fruits, grapes, Pharaoh's figs, carobs, and dates,

* "Rice (*oryza sativa*) is sown in April, after having been well soaked in water and dried in straw till it shoots. It is reaped in November."—*Ency. Metrop.*

† "The seed-time for wheat (*hhontah*) is over by the end of November, and the harvest is finished in May in Lower, and in April in Upper, Egypt. The straw is never more than two feet and a half, but strong, and is pulled up, not reaped."—*Ibid.*

‡ The shrub called *thamar-hhinna* (*Lawsonia inermis*) is supposed to be the gopher of the Scriptures and the cypress of the Greeks. It is planted from suckers in April, and in a year its leaves are fit for gathering. The flower is extremely fragrant.

are gathered.—In June, Upper Egypt has its sugar-cane harvest: * the plants of the sandy grounds now begin to wither and die.—In July, rice, maize, and canes are planted; flax and cotton are pulled; † ripe grapes are abundant in the neighbourhood of Cairo; and there is a third crop of trefoil.—The *nenuphar* and jessamine flower in August, while the palm-tree and the vine are loaded with ripe fruit: the melons have now become too watery.—Towards the end of September, oranges, citrons, tamarinds, and olives are gathered, and a second crop of rice is cut down. In this month, and still more in October, all sorts of grain and leguminous seeds are sown. In the latter month, the grass becomes so high as to conceal the cattle: the acacias and other thorny shrubs are now covered with odoriferous flowers.—The sowing continues more or less late in November, according to the degree to which the waters of the Nile have retired. The corn begins to spring before the end of the month. The narcissus, the violet, and the *colocasia* flower on the dried land; the *nenuphar* disappears from the surface of the waters; dates and the sebesten-fruit are gathered.—In December, the trees gradually lose their foliage, but this symptom of autumn is compensated by other appearances: the corn, the long grass,

* "The inferior canes are cut in October, to be used green. Those kept for the press are not cut till January or February."—*Ency. Metrop.* They are planted in March and April.

† The flax-seed "ripens in March: the plants are then pulled up and carefully dried." . . . "Cotton is sown immediately after the vernal equinox . . . the harvest begins in September." Tobacco is sown in December; the young plants are planted out in February; the leaves are gathered in April, and a second, but inferior crop is gathered in May. Sometimes, "a third, but still worse, is obtained when the inundation does not reach the tobacco-fields."—*Ency. Metrop.*

and the flowers every where display the spectacle of a new spring. Thus, in Egypt, the land is never at rest.* Every month has its flowers, and every season its fruits.”†

THE NILE.

THE parent of all this exhaustless fertility is the Nile, and every thing in Egypt depends upon the precise height to which the inundation rises. If it does not reach a certain medium, famine is the result; and the consequence of its exceeding its usual *maximum* is scarcely less calamitous: whole villages are then liable to be swept away, with all the corn, cattle, and inhabitants. The rise of the Nile, in common with that of all the rivers of the torrid zone, is caused by the heavy periodical rains which fall between the tropics. This phenomenon is thus explained by Mr. Bruce. “ The air is so much rarefied by the sun, during the time he remains almost stationary over the tropic of Capricorn, that the winds, loaded with vapours, rush in upon the land from the Atlantic Ocean on the west, the Indian Ocean on the east, and the cold Southern Ocean beyond the Cape. Thus, a great quantity of vapour is gathered as it were into a

* “ The soil is so rich that fallows are unnecessary; some attention to rotation of crops is all that is requisite. Wheat is succeeded by barley, millet, beans, or lentils; clover by wheat; carthamus by tobacco, lupins, fenugreek, or chick-peas; sugar-canies by millet or maize; maize by flax, and that by indigo, which occupies the soil for three years.”—*Eney. Metrop.*

† Malte Brun, vol. iv. pp. 43—45. The authorities cited are Nordmeier (*Calend. Aegypt.*), and Forskal, Hasselquist, Pococke, Norden, and Niebuhr, &c. as quoted by Nordmeier, whom this Geographer appears to have chiefly followed. Further observations on the economy and productions of this country will occur in the topographical description.

focus ; and, as the same causes continue to operate during the progress of the sun northward, a vast train of clouds proceeds from south to north, which are sometimes extended much further than at other times. In April, all the rivers in the south of Abyssinia begin to swell ; in the beginning of June, they are all full, and continue so while the sun remains stationary in the tropic of Cancer. This excessive rain, which would sweep off the whole soil of Egypt into the sea, were it to continue without intermission, begins to abate as the sun turns southward ; and, on his arrival at the zenith of each place, on his passage towards that quarter, they cease entirely. Immediately after the sun has passed the line, he begins the rainy season to the southward."

The rise of the Nile at Cairo does not commence till June, the green colour produced, either by the influx of corrupt or stagnant water, or by the action of the hot south winds on the sluggish stream, appearing about the 12th of that month.* The red appearance,

* "The day on which it begins to increase, is yearly the 12th day of June, on which day they observe the feast of St. Michael the Archangel : on this day the drops fall. Now these drops are nothing else, according to the judgement of the inhabitants, than the mercies and blessings of God. As soon as this dew is fallen, the water begins to be corrupt, and assumes a *greenish* colour, which increaseth more and more, till the river appears as a lake covered all over with moss. This colour is to be seen not only in its great channel, but also in all the ponds and branches that come from thence: only the cisterns keep the water pure. Some years, this green colour continues about twenty days, and sometimes more, but never above forty. The Egyptians call this time, when the river is green, *il chad raviat*; for they suffer much because the water is corrupt, tasteless, and unwholesome, and good water is very rare. As soon as the green colour is gone, the river Nilus begins to become *red* and very muddy. It is then, no doubt, that the fermentation is passed, and that the waters of Ethiopia are arrived in Egypt, which are of that colour because of the red earth

occasioned by the arrival of the Abyssinian waters, takes place early in July, from which the rise of the river may properly be dated, as it then begins to increase rapidly. By the middle of August, it reaches half its greatest height, and it attains its *maximum* towards the end of September. From the 24th of that month, the waters are supposed to decline, but maintain nearly the same level till the middle of October. By the 10th of November, they have sunk about half, and from that period, continue to subside very slowly till they reach their *minimum* in April. The regularity with which these phenomena occur, will appear the more remarkable when taken in connexion with all the circumstances which distinguish this wonderful stream.

The Nile is the largest river of the Old Continent, and it is the only river in the world that flows more than a thousand miles without receiving a single tributary stream. The first confluence that is met with in ascending its course, is the Tacazze or Astaboras, which, having been previously joined by the Mareb, enters the Nile in lat. $17^{\circ} 35'$, 450 miles S. of Philœ.† The confluence of the *Bahr-el-Azrek* (Blue River) and the *Bahr-el-Abiad* (White River), which, properly speaking, forms the Nile, is in about lat.

that the furious torrents from the mountains carry into the river. In the year 1673, in the beginning of July, the water began to be red, and so continued till the end of December, the time when the river returns to its ordinary dimensions. The Egyptians believe that the river Nilus decreaseth also at a certain day, Sept. 24."—Father Vansleb in Calmet's Dict. by Taylor, art. Nile.

* " The distance from the mouth of the Tacazze to the Delta, is nearly 1350 nautical miles.... The Nile receives no river below this, either on the east or on the west; a solitary instance in the hydrographic history of the globe."—HUMBOLDT's *Pers. Nar.*, vol. v. p. 744.

16° N. Which of these two great streams has the better claim to be regarded as the head or main branch of the Egyptian river, is still a question among geographers. The ancients appear to have regarded both the Tacazze and the Abyssinian river as tributaries of the great western stream.* And yet, the name of the Nile is evidently derived from the Blue River, and by no means corresponds to the character of the white waters of the *Bahr-el-Abiad*. The latter is, at their junction, the wider river of the two; † but whether its sources are the more distant, appears to be still problematical. The rise of its waters precedes that of the Blue River nearly a month. These rivers, at their junction, form nearly a right angle; but such is the volume or the force of the *Bahr-el-Abiad* at the time of its rise, that, for many miles below its mouth, the waters of the *Bahr-el-Azrek* cannot mingle with it; so that the eastern part of the Nile is black, and the western white, the latter colour being occasioned by a very fine white clay with which its waters are impregnated. The rise of the *Bahr-el-Abiad* appears

* Eratosthenes, the librarian of Alexandria, states, that the Nile receives two rivers which surround the great island of Meroe. One is the Astaboras. If the latter be, as is supposed, the Tacazze, the other must be the *Bahr-el-Azrek*. See Burckhardt's Nubia, p. 163, and Colonel Leake's map. Pliny relates the opinion of King Juba, that the Nile had its source in Mauritania; that it appeared and disappeared in different places, first hiding itself under ground, and then shewing itself again; that, in this country, it was called Niger, and in Ethiopia, had the name of *Astapus*; that about Meroe, it was divided into two arms, of which the right was called Astusapes, and the left Astaboras; and lastly, that it obtained the name of Nile only below Meroe."—CALMET'S *Dict.*, art. Nile.

† " The Nile is not half so broad as the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, which is, from bank to bank, one mile higher than where the Nile joins it, about a mile and a quarter in breadth."—ENGLISH'S *Narr. of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar*, 8vo. p. 147.

to take place in April, when its sudden influx occasions a rise of the Nile in that part, of about two feet, and an inundation of the sandy flats on the western bank.*

At this period, the Nile at Cairo is at its lowest; and it would seem that these white waters contribute this copious supply at the very season when it is most needed, and when otherwise, in such a climate, the river would probably become dry before it could reach Egypt. As it is, they produce no sensible rise in the lower country, but only prevent the waters from subsiding, by counteracting the waste of evaporation. The water of the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, though "troubled and whitish," has a peculiar sweetness, and is more agreeable than that of the *Bahr-el-Azrek*. The banks of the former river have never been explored. It appears to come from the W.S.W., but is stated, on the doubtful testimony of the natives, to have, for some distance, a course nearly parallel to the Abyssinian river, and to receive "three other rivers, one from the S.W., and two from the east, running from the mountains south of Sennaar."† The peculiar colour of its waters proves that it flows through a tract differing essentially, in the qualities of the soil, from the basin of the

* English's Narrative, p. 144. It is remarkable, that the Nile is stated to have "risen a little shortly after the equinox," but "it afterwards subsided more than it had risen."

† English, p. 179. By the expression, from the east, must be meant, that the river receives them on its eastern bank. The tract of country included between the *Adit* (*Bahr-el-Azrek*), and the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, is called *El Jecira*, the Island; "because, in the season of the rains, many rivers running from the mountains in the south towards the *Bahr-el-Abiad* and the *Adit*, occasion this tract to be included by rivers."—*Ibid.* p. 182. The river from the S.W., which joins the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, is probably the *Bahr-el-Ada* of Browne, which is said to join that river about eight days' journey to the S. of Hellet Allais.

Blue River. About fifteen days' march above its junction with the latter, there is said to be a rapid (*shallal*) ; and its source is much further off (further south-westward probably) than that of the Sennaar River, in the *Jebel-el-Gumara* or *Kamar* (mountains of the moon). According to the report of a negro, the country from which it proceeds, is called *Dar-el-Abiad*, the white country, and lies to the south of Dar-Foor. That it communicates in some way with the Niger, would seem to be more than probable, if it be true, that travellers have passed by water from Tom-buctoo to Cairo ; but if so, it is, most likely, by intermediate streams, or by lakes at the period of inundation.*

"The sources of the Blue River," remarks Malte Brun, "were found and described by the Jesuits, Paez and Tellez, two centuries before the pretended discovery of Bruce." Recent information, however, seems to render it doubtful whether the real source of the *Bahr-el-Azrek* be yet discovered. Mr. English was informed at Sennaar, that the source of this river is in the *Jebel-el-Gumara*, about sixty days' camel-march from Sennaar, in a direction nearly south ; and that, at various parts of its course, it receives several smaller streams from Abyssinia, and from the mountains south of Sennaar. M. Calliaud states, that two

* See Quart. Rev. vol. xxviii. p. 92. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 20. According to Mr. Browne, the *Misselad* and the *Bahr-Koolla* run from S. to N. ; and this fact, M. Malte Brun remarks, "does not allow us to suppose any other communication between the Nile and the Niger, than one which might be formed by canals winding along a table land, where the sources of the *Misselad* and *Bahr-Koolla* are at a short distance from each other, and from those of the Nile. Some of our readers may, perhaps, content themselves with supposing, that the sources of all these rivers are sufficiently near to communicate by means of temporary lakes during the rainy season."

considerable rivers, the *Tournat* and the *Jabousse*, flow from Abyssinia into the *Bahr-el-Azrek*; the latter at the distance of two days and a half southward of Fazoele; a circumstance, it has justly been remarked, which renders it impossible, " notwithstanding the fine circular sweep which Bruce has given to the upper part of the Azrek, (and which he borrowed from the Portuguese Jesuit Tellez,) that it should have its rise in any part of Abyssinia, and proves that it must proceed from the mountains far to the westward." This, again, would necessarily throw the line and source of the *Bahr-el-Abiad* to a much greater distance westward than has hitherto been assigned to it, and increases the probability of its communicating with the Niger.*

The waters of the Nile, it seems at all events certain, have their most distant sources in the *Jebel-el-Kamra*; but, whichever be the more remote, whether the *Bahr-el-Azrek* or the *Bahr-el-Abiad* has the longer course, the Nile appears to be chiefly fed by the rivers of Abyssinia. To these, its inundations are chiefly owing; and both its name and character, and the general direction of its course, warrant our considering the central branch, that is, the Abyssinian Nile or Blue River, as the true head of the Egyptian stream. At the same time, it seems proper to restrict the name of Nile to the united waters of the Blue and White Rivers.

One circumstance which favours the supposition that the sources of the Nile are more remote than has been supposed, is the remarkable retardation of its periodical rise as compared with that of other tropical rivers in northern latitudes. The Ganges, the Niger, and the Gambia reach their *maximum* in August; the

* See *Narr. of an Expedition, &c.*, p. 179; and *Quart. Rev.* vol. xxiv. p. 91.

Orinoco, which begins to increase immediately after the vernal equinox, attains its greatest height in July. The Nile, which does not reach its *maximum* till about the autumnal equinox, is at its *minimum* in April and May, when the rivers of Guyana begin to swell anew.* It appears, however, that the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, in fact, begins to rise very soon after the vernal equinox ; and the Abyssinian rivers, according to Bruce, begin to swell in April, and are full in June. It would seem to follow, that the great body of water which is subsequently poured into the Nile, must be occasioned by the copious rains which fall in lower latitudes as the sun travels southward ; but for which, owing to the length of its course after having received its last confluent, the rainy season would be nearly over before the Nile had received a sufficient supply to produce the requisite inundation.† The swellings of the Nile in Upper Egypt are from thirty to thirty-five feet ; at Cairo, they are twenty-three feet ;‡ in the northern part of the Delta, owing to the breadth of the inundation and the artificial channels, only four feet. And when it is considered that this comparatively small rise, on which the fertility of the Delta wholly depends, is oc-

* See Humboldt's *Pers. Narr.* vol. iv. p. 745. Taking the mean velocity of the Nile to be (according to Girard) four feet in a second, or two miles and a half in an hour, the learned Traveller assigns twenty-two days and a half for the descent of a particle of water from the mouth of the Tacazze to the Delta (1350 nautical miles). At Siout, however, the rate of the current is found to be more than five feet in a second, when the inundation is at its height, and four feet when the river is lowest. The quantity of water brought down varies also from 679 cubic metres to 10,247.—*Ency. Metrop.*

† The rains in Dar-Four last, according to Browne, from the middle of June to the end of September. They are brought by winds from the S.E.—*Browne's Trav. in Africa*, p. 254.

‡ According to Girard, 7.419 metres, nearly twenty-four feet and a half. We have followed Humboldt.

casioned by the rains which fall in countries nearly 2000 miles distant, and altogether depends on the regular occurrence and duration of the rainy season within the tropics, who can fail to be struck with admiration at the wonderful character of this mighty phenomenon ! Well might the Egyptians deify the Nile, looking no higher than to second causes or imaginary powers as the sources of all their blessings.

“ We know by the testimony of antiquity,” remarks Humboldt, “ that the oscillations of the Nile have been sensibly the same with respect to their height and duration for thousands of years ; which is a proof well worthy of attention, that the mean state of the humidity and the temperature does not vary in that vast basin.”* But this astonishing constancy in the hydraulic phenomena, would have been in danger of being defeated, had the basin of the Nile been of a different formation. The narrow, rocky bed of granite which imprisons its waters, and resists their action, has prevented their forming a wider channel as their bed became more shallow, and by presenting a wider surface to the action of the burning climate, becoming diminished by evaporation. “ How wonderful soever this large conflux of water may have been accounted in all ages,” remarks Dr. Shaw, “ the great quantity of mud that hath from time to time been brought down with it, will appear to be not less strange and surprising. Surely the soil in Ethiopia (*provided the Nile reacheth no further*) must be of an extraordinary depth, in having not only bestowed upon Egypt so many thousand annual strata, but laid the foundation likewise of a future addition to it in the sea, to the distance of twenty leagues ; so far, at least, by sound-

* Pers. Nar., vol. v. p. 351.

ing, this mud is found to extend."* The extreme lightness of the soil with which the river is as it were saturated, is another remarkable circumstance, since otherwise it must be deposited, notwithstanding the rapidity of the current, long before reaching the Delta. As it is, the accumulation of the soil in the course of centuries, is considerable enough to have affected the standard which determines the height of the inundation requisite to produce an abundant harvest. We learn from Herodotus, that, unless the river rose 15 or 16 cubits, it did not overflow its banks: in such cases, therefore, a dearth ensued, and no contributions were levied, because there was nothing produced to afford the means of paying them. The same rule was observed by the Arabs; whence 16 cubits, the lowest elevation which would allow of an assessment, was called *Má-el-Sultán*, the Sultan's Water. But in 1799, the water rose, according to the Nilometer or *Mikyas* at Cairo, to 16 cubits 2 inches; yet, it was a very bad year. In 1800, it reached 18 cubits 3 inches. "Supposing this height to be now equivalent to the standard of 16 cubits, fixed at the time when the *Mikyas* was erected (A.D. 847), the difference between the two numbers (*i. e.* 2 cubits 3 inches) will give the increase in the elevation of the bed of the river since that period: so that we have 3·77 feet for the accumulation of the soil near Cairo, in nine centuries and a half, or nearly four inches in a century. At Elephantine, near the southern extremity of Egypt, the ancient Nilometer mentioned by Strabo is still remaining; and the highest measure marked upon its scale is 24 cubits; but the water now rises, when at its greatest elevation, nearly eight feet above that

* Shaw's Travels, folio, p. 432.

mark ; while, as appears from an inscription on the wall, at the beginning of the third century of our era, it rose only one foot above that level. The difference between these numbers makes the accumulation of the soil in the bed of the Nile at that place, during 1600 years, rather more than five inches in every hundred years. The proximity of these results," adds the Writer from whom we have borrowed this statement,* " thus derived from independent data, affords a strong presumption in favour of their truth."

Little stress, however, as Dr. Shaw remarks, can be laid upon the nominal measures, since the cubit itself (*πηχος*, or *peek*, as it is still called,) has not remained the same. In the time of Herodotus, the Egyptian cubit appears to have been the same as the Attic, being equal to about one foot and a half. Three or four centuries afterwards, it seems to have been about twenty inches ; " for such," remarks the learned Author, " according to the exactest measure that could be taken, is the height of one or other of the sixteen little children that are placed upon the famous statue of the Nile at Rome, and which represented, according to Philostratus, so many cubits."† The present cubit is of a still greater extent ; and Dr. Shaw concludes, after citing various authorities, that it may be taken at 25 inches, the " great

* Ency. Metrop.

† That " no addition was made during the space of 500 years to the number of cubits mentioned by Herodotus, we learn," it is added, " not only from the sixteen children that attend the statue above mentioned, but also from a medal of Trajan, where we see the figure of the Nile with a boy standing upon it, who points to the number 15 (16). This account we have confirmed by Pliny: *In duodecim cubitis firmam sentit: in tredecim etiamnum esurit; quatuordecim cubita hilaritatem afferunt; quindecim securitatem; sexdecim delicius.*—*Nat. Hist.*, lib. v. c. 9."—SHAW, p. 436.

cubit" of Constantinople. "At present," he continues, " notwithstanding the great accumulation of soil that has been made since those times, yet, when the river riseth to 16 cubits, (though 19 or 20 are requisite to prepare the whole land for cultivation,) the Egyptians make great rejoicings, and call out *Wafaa Allah*—God has given all they wanted. At this time also is performed the ceremony of cutting the Nile.....Now, Herodotus acquaints us, that, in the reign of Myris, if the Nile rose to the height of 8 (Grecian) cubits, all the lands of Egypt were sufficiently watered; but that, in his time, (which was not quite 900 years after Myris,) the country was not covered with less than 15 or 16 cubits of water. The addition of soil, therefore, by supposing them to have been 15 only, will be 7 Grecian cubits, or 126 inches, in the space of 900 years. But, at present, the river must rise to the height of 20 (Stamboline) cubits, (and it usually rises to 24,) before the whole country is overflowed. Since the time, therefore, of Herodotus, Egypt has gained 230 inches depth of new soil. And if we look back from the reign of Myris to the time of the deluge, and reckon that interval by the same proportion, we shall find, that the whole perpendicular accession of the soil, from the deluge to A.D. 1721, must be 500 inches: that is, the land of Egypt has gained 41 feet 8 inches of soil in 4072 years (more than a foot in a hundred years). Thus, in process of time, this whole country may be raised to such a height that the river will not be able to overflow its banks; and Egypt, consequently, from being the most fertile, will, for want of the annual inundation, become one of the most barren parts of the universe." *

M. Savary, the French traveller, arguing in a similar

* Shaw, pp. 432—41.

manner, concludes that, in the space of 3284 years, the Delta has risen fourteen cubits. This opinion has been violently contested by Velney, Pococke, and Bruce. The first of these attempts to explain all the variations by the change in the measure. He supposes that, between the time of Mœris and that of Herodotus, an alteration took place in the measures of the country, by which one cubit was made into two. The Egyptian cubit, however, he contends with D'Anville and Baillie, has invariably consisted of 24 digits, equal to $20\frac{1}{2}$ inches French ; while the *Draa Stamboule* is 28 digits, or 24 inches. The rise of 24 feet, therefore, which is stated to be the maximum at Cairo, reduced to Egyptian cubits, will give precisely 14 cubits 1 inch, which, he adds, corresponds exactly to the ancient calculation. Reduced to Grecian cubits, if Shaw be correct, it will give 16, which is stated by Pliny to be the measure of delight (*delicias*). The question, however, seems to be yet undetermined, what is really the present standard of abundance. The *Mikyas*, it is evident, cannot be depended upon, except as shewing the comparative height in different years ; and the real state of the river is even said to be purposely concealed or misrepresented at times, for political purposes. In the year 1818, Mr. Belzoni witnessed a deplorable scene. The Nile rose with uncommon rapidity three feet and a half above the highest mark left by the former inundation, which, however, had been remarkably low, and carried off several villages with some hundreds of their inhabitants. It is much to be regretted, that the measurements of those years have not been ascertained ; but it appears certain, that a greater rise is in fact required, and must in the nature of things be necessary, now, than in the time of Herodotus and Pliny, although it will be very difficult to

ascertain the difference with sufficient precision to make the basis of such nice calculation.

One of Bruce's arguments in opposing M. Savary's hypothesis, is, that the Nile does not now bring down any great quantity of mud, and that it is absurd to suppose that it can at present bring down as much as it did soon after the creation, or in the ages immediately succeeding the deluge. M. Maillet, on the contrary, makes the mud and sand annually left by the Nile, equal to a tenth part of its volume. Shaw admits this to be an obvious exaggeration; and he gives, as the result of experiment, a 90th part of wet mud; and a 120th part of mud when perfectly dry, as the *residuum*. It is obvious, that the quantity of mud brought down by the river, must depend chiefly on the rapidity of the current and the specific lightness of the soil; and it does not seem likely that it should at any period have held in solution a much larger proportion. The redness of the waters has not undergone, apparently, any diminution. Bruce represents the soil throughout Abyssinia, in all the water-channels, as almost entirely washed away; and he contends that the principal part of the sediment at Syene is sand. His statements, however, are not to be implicitly received. Both the colour of the river at the time of inundation, and the fertilizing effects of its deposite, oppose his hypothesis. If ever there was a period at which the Nile rolled down a larger volume of water with greater impetuosity, then, indeed, it would bring down with it a larger quantity of soil; and it is just possible that, in the thousand years prior to the time of Herodotus, this was the case, which would serve to account for the alleged difference in the standard.*

* See Volney's Travels, vol. I. c. 3. Ency. Brit. art. Egypt, and

That the soil of Egypt has been raised by the deposits of the river, is, indeed, unquestionable. Shaw had already remarked as a proof of this, what has since been fully verified by the observations of the French savans, that the depth of the soil varies in proportion to the distance from the river, "being sometimes, near the banks, more than thirty feet high, while, at the utmost extremity of the inundation, it is not a quarter part of so many inches. The method of raising mounds," he adds, "in order to secure their cities from the violence of the inundation, is another argument. For, as it may be presumed, that all the cities of Egypt were originally built upon artificial eminences, raised for the purpose, so, when the circumjacent soil came to be so far increased, as to lie nearly upon a level with these cities, the inhabitants were then obliged either to mound them round, or else to rebuild them. The former experiment seems to have been often repeated at Memphis, the want whereof hath been the reason, no doubt, why we are not sure, at present, even of the place where this famous city was founded. The situation likewise of the temple in the city of Bubastis, is another circumstance in favour of the hypothesis. For, when the city was rebuilt and raised higher, to secure it from inundation, the temple, for the beauty of it, was left standing in its

Shaw's Supplement to his Travels, folio, c. 5. In this chapter, the learned Author meets the objections somewhat rudely brought against his representations by the author of the Description of the East, &c. (Dr. Pococke). The latter attempts to explain the difference between the eight and the sixteen cubits of Herodotus, by supposing "that the canals were cut after Myris's time, and so made a greater rise of the Nile necessary." But this conjecture, Shaw proves to be wholly unsatisfactory. At the same time, the number of canals may be the cause of variation in the degrees of the inundation,

primitive situation ; and being therefore much lower than the new buildings, they looked down upon it from every part of the city. In like manner, Heliopolis, which, Strabo tells us, was built upon an eminence, is now in one of the plains of Egypt, and annually overflowed with six or eight feet of water. Neither is there any descent, as formerly, from Babylon to the river ; but the interjacent space is all of it upon the same level. Upon the skirts likewise of the inundation, where the Sphinx is erected, the soil even there is so far accumulated that, if the sand had not already done it, very little is wanting to cover its whole body. With regard also to the exclusion of the sea, (the expelling of Typhon, as it was named in their ancient mythology,) we are told, that Damietta lies now ten miles distant from the sea, which, in the time of St. Lewis, A.D. 1243, was a sea-port town ; that Fooah, which, three hundred years ago, was at the mouth of the Canopic branch of the river, is now seven miles above it ; and again, that the land between Rosetta and the sea, hath in forty years gained half a league. Such large accessions being continually made to the soil, would occasion several of the more ancient cities, such as Damietta, Tineh, &c. (for Grand Cairo is of a later date, and built in a higher situation) to be in the same condition with Memphis, were they not, in a great measure, secured by some neighbouring mounds.* At the same time, the stream itself is diminished, by being carried in so convenient a manner through a number of channels, that every part of the country receives the benefit of the inundation."†

* " It was by the pulling down such mounds as these by Sultan Melladine, that the Christian army, then encamped near Cairo, were drowned A.D. 1199."

† Shaw's Travels, pp. 439, 40.

Volney, while he opposes the hypotheses of those writers who "supposed they could fix the precise limits of the enlargement and rise of the Delta," admits that the increase of the land manifests itself in a striking manner by the form of Egypt along the Mediterranean. "When we consider," he says, "its figure on the map, we perceive, that the country, which is in the line of the river, and evidently formed of foreign materials, has assumed a semi-circular shape, and that the shores of Arabia and Africa, on each side, have a direction towards the bottom of the Delta, which manifestly discovers that this country was formerly a gulf, which, in time, has been filled up. This accumulation is common to all rivers, and is to be accounted for in the same manner in all. The rain-water and the snow descending from the mountains into the valleys, hurry incessantly along with them the earth they wash away in their descent. The heavier parts, such as pebbles and sands, soon stop, unless forced along by a rapid current. But when the waters meet only with a fine and light earth, they carry away large quantities with the greatest facility. The Nile meeting with such a kind of earth in Abyssinia and the interior parts of Africa, its waters are loaded, and its bed is filled with it; nay, it is frequently so embarrassed with this sediment as to be straightened in its course. But, when the inundation restores to it its natural force, it drives the mud that has accumulated towards the sea, at the same time that it brings down more for the ensuing season; and this, arrived at its mouth, heaps up, and forms shoals, where the declivity does not allow sufficient action to the current, and where the sea produces an equilibrium of resistance. The stagnation that follows, occasions the grosser particles which till then had floated, to sink; and

this takes place more particularly in those places where there is least motion, as towards the shores, till the sides become gradually enriched with the spoils of the upper country, and of the Delta itself ; for, if the Nile takes from Abyssinia to add to the Thebais, it likewise takes from the Thebais to give to the Delta, and from the Delta, to carry to the sea. Wherever its waters have a current, it despoils the same territory it enriches. As we ascend towards Cairo, when the river is low, we may observe on each side the banks worn steep, and crumbling in large flakes. The Nile, which undermines them, depriving their light earth of support, it falls into the bed of the river ; for, when the water is high, the earth imbibes it ; and when the sun and drought return, cracks and moulders away in great flakes, which are hurried along by the Nile. Thus are several canals choked up, and others enlarged, while the bed of the river continually rises. This is the case with the most frequented of these at present ; I mean that which runs from Nadir to the branch of Damietta. This canal, at first dug by the hand of man, is in several places become as wide as the Seine. It supplies even the mother branch, which runs from *Bahr-el-Bakara* to Nadir, and which is filling up so fast, that, if it be not speedily cleansed, it will soon become firm ground. The reason of this is, that the river tends perpetually to the right line, in which it has the greatest force ; wherefore it has preferred the Bolbitine, which was at first but an artificial canal, to the Canopic branch.

" From this mechanism of the river, it further results, that the principal encroachment must be formed in the line of the most considerable mouths, and of the strongest current ; and the aspect of the country is conformable with this theory. If we cast

our eye on the map, we shall perceive that the projection of the lands is chiefly in the direction of the branches of Rosetta and Damietta. The lateral and intermediate country entirely consists of lakes and morasses between the continent and the sea, because the small canals which terminate there, have only been able to produce an imperfect accumulation; for this mud and sediment cause a very slow rise. Nor would this indeed ever suffice to elevate them above the water, without the intervention of a more powerful agent, which is the sea, that perpetually raises the level of the low banks above its own waters. For the waves, beating on the shore, repel the sand and mud which they meet. Their dashing afterwards accumulates that slender bank, and gives an elevation which it never would have attained in still waters." *

If the observations of the French academicians might be relied upon, the rise of the soil is capable of being so accurately ascertained, as to be made the basis of chronological calculations. The mean of several observations made in the valley of the Lower Egypt gives, we are told, 0.126 of a metre (or between four and five inches) as the rate of accumulation in a century. Taking this as the divisor, and applying it to the sum of the metres or inches which the soil has been raised, it is supposed that the quotient will give the number of years which have elapsed since the erection of any public monument. Thus, the basis of the statue of Memnon, it is said, was certainly raised above the level of the inundation by being placed on an artificial mound; and excavations made near it shew that the height of that terrace was six metres,

* Volney's Travels, vol. i. pp. 47-50.

or rather more than nineteen feet and a half. A similar result arises on examining the foundations of the palace at El Oksor or Luxor. It is therefore estimated, that 4760 years must have elapsed since the foundation of Thebes, which date would carry the origin of that metropolis as far back as 2960 years B.C., and consequently 612 years before the deluge, according to the reckoning in the Hebrew text, or 760 years after the deluge according to the Samaritan text.* The rubbish collected at the foot of the obelisk of Luxor, indicates that it was erected 1400 years B.C. ; the causeway which crosses the plain of Siout, furnishes data for supposing it must have been formed 1200 years B.C. ; and the obelisk at Heliopolis appears to have been erected about the same time. As the waters drain off more slowly in the Delta, the accumulation of alluvial soil must, however, be more rapid there, than higher up the stream ; and the foundations of ancient buildings will there be at as great a depth below the surface, as those of greater antiquity in the Middle and Upper Egypt. Dr. Shaw's estimate of a foot in a century, which would make the difference as 12 to 4½, will probably be thought excessive. Yet, if he be correct in stating the depth of the soil

* The numbers in the Samaritan text and Septuagint version carry back the deluge to the year 3716 B.C. "The grounds which may be alleged for giving a preference, on this point, to the Samaritan text, or even to the Septuagint, and the singular approximation to the former, resulting from a mean taken between it, the Hindū, and the Chinese epochs, are ably stated by M. Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*, 25, 29. The dates thus obtained," adds the Author of the able article from which we have cited the above, " (and which can only be considered as a very imperfect approximation to the truth,) are as remote from the extravagant chronology of the ancient Egyptians, as they are consistent with the testimony of both sacred and profane history with regard to the early civilization of that country."—*Ency. Metrop.*, art. Egypt.

near the banks in some places at thirty feet, while, at the remotest part of the inundated land, it does not exceed seven inches, we may suppose that the accumulation near the mouths of the river would be very considerable.

The different *bogaz* or mouths of the Nile have often changed their position, and are still changing it; and this has been another fruitful source of long discussion among geographers. Seven mouths were known to the ancients, of which, according to Herodotus, two were artificial; and it is remarkable that these are now the only channels which are not obstructed. The Rosetta branch is the Bolbitic or Bolbitinic; so called from Bolbitine, a town near its banks, and formed by a canal drawn in a straight line from the Canopic, or great western arm, to the sea. The Damietta branch, which, running almost due N., divides the Delta into two nearly equal parts, was anciently the Phatnitic, Pathmetic, or Bucolic. The five natural channels were, the Canopic on the west, the Pelusiac on the east, and the Sebennytic nearly in the middle, with two smaller arms issuing from the latter; the Saitic or Taïtic on the west, and the Mendesian on the east. The Canopic flowed into the sea near Canopus, a town situated fifteen miles E. of Alexandria, and not far from the site of Aboukir. It was also called the Heracleotic and the Naucratic mouth, from a *Heracleum* or temple of Hercules near its afflux into the sea, and Naucratis, a town on its banks. It is now lost in Lake Etko; but part of its bed may still be traced a little to the west of the Rosetta branch.* The Sebennytic took its name from

* "The Canopic mouth corresponds to the present mouth of Lake Etko, or, according to others, to that of the Lake of Aboukir

Sebennytus, an appellation still perhaps to be traced in *Shebin-el-Koom* (Shibin of the Mound,—alluding to the heaps of rubbish in the neighbourhood); and the course of the ancient branch is supposed to be still marked by the canal which, near that town, divides into two arms; one joins the Rosetta stream at *Farestak*, and the other, called *Meligh*, taking a northerly direction, passes by *Mehallet-el-Kebir* (Cynopolis); fifteen miles below which, it falls into the great canal of *Thábaniyeh*. The latter stream, issuing from the Damietta branch at *Thabaniyeh* (Place of Dragons), loses itself at the distance of thirty-six geographical miles in the Lake Burullos. The opening into this lake is supposed to be the ancient Sebennytic mouth. Of the Saitic mouth, some traces are supposed to exist, to the east of Lake Menzaleh, under the appellation of *Om-Faredge*: the branch itself corresponds to the canal of *Moez*, which now loses itself in that lake. The Mendesian branch of the Sebennytic, which took its name from a town sacred to Mendes, the Egyptian Pan, is now called the Canal of *Ashmun*: after a course of thirty miles, it loses itself in the Lake Menzaleh. Lastly, the easternmost arm of the Nile, which flowed into the sea near *Pelusium*, is now the canal of *Abu Muneji*, the second branch of the Damietta stream, which it leaves about six miles below Cairo, and after passing by *Bilbeis* and *Tel Basteh* (Bubastis), at length reaches

or *Maadée*; but it is probable that, at one time, it had communications with the sea at both of these places. In that case, it is probable that these lakes existed nearly in their present state, except that the Nile flowed through them, and gave them a large proportion of fresh water, instead of the sea-water with which they are now filled."—*MALTE BRUN*, vol. iv. p. 23.

the sea, much contracted in width, and almost choked up with mud.*

The maritime lakes or lagoons which border the Delta, have undergone considerable changes at different periods. To the south of Alexandria is Lake Mareotis, now called *Sabakah*, or *Birket Mariyut*, which for many ages was dried up; for, though the bed is lower than the surface of the ocean, there is not sufficient rain to keep up any lake in this climate by counteracting the waste by evaporation. But, in 1801, the English cut the walls of the old canal, which had formed a dike, separating this low ground from the lake of Aboukir, or of Mâdiyeh, on the east, when the Mareotic lake was re-produced, the water in the former basin falling six feet.† The lake of Aboukir also had been dry for two centuries, when, in 1778, an irruption of the sea broke through the embankment by which the inundation had been excluded. Lake Etko, to the S.E., has a similar character, communicating with the sea by a narrow mouth, which would admit of being closed up, so as to convert the lake into a dry, or a marshy salt plain. One extremity of this lake or morass, which is a part of the Canopic arm, comes within a few miles of Rosetta. Between the Rosetta and Damietta streams is the lake of *Burullos* (the ancient *Paralos*), which takes its name from a town situated on the narrow neck of land that separates it

* Ency. Metrop. According to Malte Brun, the Pelusiac mouth is represented by what is now the most easterly mouth of Lake Mensaleh, where the ruins of Pelusium are still visible; distant from the mouth of Dibeh 95,920 yards.

† "By that oppressive but perhaps unavoidable act, more than forty villages, with all the lands surrounding them, were overwhelmed by a flood of salt water rushing in from the sea."—Ency. Metrop.

from the sea. It receives, directly or indirectly, the waters of the four great canals of the Delta; *Menufi*, *Sheibin-el-Koum*, *Melij*, and *El Thabaniysh*, which it discharges through a channel which was anciently the *Sebennytic* or *Phermuthiac* mouth of the Nile. Its greatest length from S.W. to N.E. is 36 miles, and its greatest breadth 18. It contains a great number of islands, the refuge of fishermen, and will probably, before many years have elapsed, be united with the sea on its north-western side. Between the *Pathmetic* (or *Middle*) and the *Pelusiao* arm, is another large lake, formed by the waters of the canal of *Ashmun*, which answers to the *Mendesian* arm, and of the canal of *Moez*, the *Tanitic* arm. These formerly flowed into two distinct lakes: the more westerly was called the lake of *Tennis*; the other, the lake of *Bahiret-el-Zar*. The sea first broke in upon the luxuriant district which afterwards formed the lake of *Tennis*, A.D. 543; just a century before the not less destructive irruption of the Mussulmans. Both these lakes are now united in the lake of *Menzaleh*, which begins half a league to the E. of *Damietta*, and ends at the castle of *Tineh*, the ancient *Pelusium*; extending 22 leagues from E. to W., and five or six in breadth. Its bottom is muddy and full of weeds; and it is seldom more than four feet in depth. In summer, during the inundation, its waters are sweet: during the rest of the year they are salt. It is separated from the sea by a strip of sand not exceeding a league in width, and communicates with it by three mouths, that of *Dibeh*, or *Peschiera*, (the *Mendesian* mouth,) *Om-me-ferref* (the *Tanitic*), both which are navigable, and that of *Tineh*, answering to the *Pelusiac* mouth. There are also two smaller inlets, closed by dams. This lake contains many islands, most of them uncultivated:

those of Matariyeh near El Menzaleh are the most inhabited. Two others are covered with the ruins of ancient towns.

The coast of Egypt to the E. of Alexandria, as far as Aboukir, is a continuation of the calcareous rock which composes the western boundary of Egypt, and which, stretching out to the N.E., terminates in the projections forming the harbour of Alexandria, with the peninsula and island of the ancient Pharos. Twelve miles to the eastward, just beyond Aboukir, the last spit of this rock runs out to the N.E. Beyond that point, the coast consists entirely of sand-banks thrown up by the sea ; and from Cape Burullos, the northern-most point of the Egyptian coast, continually increase in height, expanding into level, uncultivated downs, which stretch along the coast to the confines of Syria.

The depth and rapidity of the Nile vary in different places and at different seasons. In its ordinary state, no vessels exceeding sixty tons burden can ascend as high as the Cataracts. The *logas* of Damietta is between 7 and 8 feet deep when the waters are low ; that of Rosetta does not exceed 4 or 5 ; but when the waters are high, each has 41 feet more, and caravels of 24 guns can sail up to Cairo. During the floods, the navigation of the river is facilitated in a singular manner ; for, while the stream rapidly carries down the vessels from the Cataracts to the Mouths, the strong northerly winds, which prevail for nine months of the year, allow them to ascend the river by means of set sails, with equal rapidity. When the waters are low and the stream less rapid, the wind blowing upward is so much more powerful than the current, that the vessels often cannot make their way downward even with furled sails. The regular practice at such seasons is, to row down with the stream during

the night, when the wind subsides, and to lay by during the day; while the upward-bound vessels sail by day, and cast anchor by night. The passage from Cairo to the Mediterranean occupies eight or ten days.

From the nature of the surface, and the universal aridity of the surrounding desert, Egypt is much hotter than most other countries under the same parallel. From March to November, the atmosphere is inflamed by a scorching sun and a cloudless sky, the average height of the thermometer being about 90° : during the other six months, it is about 60° ; the nights are generally cool, and the dews heavy. Except along the sea-shores, rain is a phenomenon in Egypt. At Cairo, there are, on an average, four or five showers in the year; in Upper Egypt, one or two at most. Nor are they considered as beneficial to the agriculture of the country.

Baron Larrey, the chief surgeon of Bonaparte's medical staff in Egypt, divides the year in this climate into what he calls four constitutional seasons. The first is the "humid season," which commences about the 20th of August, when the Nile begins to overflow its banks. Lower Egypt is then like a sea, in which the towns and villages appear as so many islands, till, towards the end of September, the waters retire, and the general seed-time commences. The west winds and fogs then prevail, and produce ophthalmia, fever, diarrhoea, and catarrh. The second season begins with December, and ends with the first of March. The winds during this period blow mostly from the east. The nights are cold, but, during the day, the temperature is that of June in France. The various productions of the earth are vigorously on the increase; its surface is tinted with the liveliest verdure; and all nature, reanimated by the moderate tempera-

ture and the fertilising effects of the river, seems to grow young again. This season is healthy, if the night airs are avoided, and is termed by M. Larrey the season of fecundity (*la saison féconde*). The un-healthy season (*morbide*) lasts from the beginning of March to the end of May. The east winds, which tempered the air during the spring, pass to the south about the vernal equinox, and seldom quit this quarter before the end of May or the beginning of June. These are the hot winds blowing over the desert, which are called *simoom* by the Arabs, *samiel* by the Turks, and in Egypt, *khamseen*, and the wind of fifty days. Although it prevails more or less during that period, it seldom lasts more than three days at a time. When it begins to blow, the atmosphere becomes troubled, sometimes acquiring a purple tinge; the air seems to lose its property of sustaining life; a dry, burning heat reigns universally, and the whirl-winds which sweep along the country, resemble the blasts from a furnace. They bring with them clouds of a fine, impalpable sand, which darken the air, depriving the sun of its splendour, and giving to his orb, "shorn of its beams," a dull violet hue. Sometimes small stones are raised to a considerable height, and deposited with large heaps of sand, while the finer particles are forced into the houses through every cranny.* The furniture warps, cracks, and splits; the foliage is shrivelled up; the streets are deserted; and the plague makes its appearance in all its dreadful power.

The fourth season, which M. Larrey designates by

* This circumstance presents an insurmountable objection to the introduction of fine machinery into Egypt, as the fine sand, penetrating the wheel-work, impedes and sometimes stops the movements; all the wood-work splits or warps, and the extreme

the name of the Etesian season, from the winds which then prevail, * commences about the middle of June, or just before the solstice, and lasts till the inundation. The winds are at first variable, but at length fix themselves in the north, when they become regular, rising and falling with the sun. In the day, the sky is clear, without either clouds or winds ; but, as the atmosphere becomes cool after the withdrawal of the sun, the body of condensed vapour from the Mediterranean may be observed passing with a hurried motion southward, towards the mountains of Abyssinia, where they are precipitated in torrents of rain. This movement continues till sunrise, when the solar heat rarefies them anew, and renders them invisible. Although the heat is now excessive, it is deemed by far the healthiest season of the Egyptian year. †

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

THE natural divisions of Egypt are so distinctly marked, that they have always regulated its artificial or political ones. The *Thebais*, extending from the Cataracts to the neighbourhood of Hermopolis, corresponds to the *Said* or Highlands of the Arabs ; the *Heptanomis*, or Seven Governments, answers to the *Wustani* (*Vostani*) or Midlands, extending to the bifurcation of the river ; while the Delta answers to

heat and dryness of the climate cause the cotton threads to snap asunder. The south wind sometimes blows in December and January, but its character is then altogether different, being accompanied with intense and penetrating cold.—*Quart. Rev.*, vol. xxx. pp. 496, 501.

* Called Etesian (*i. e.* yearly) by the ancients.

† *Malte Brun*, vol. iv. pp. 36, 37. *Quart. Rev.*, vol. xxx. pp. 495—7.

the *Rif or Bahari*. The general designation of Upper or Southern Egypt, as well as that of Said, was anciently applied to all the country above Fostat; while Lower or Northern Egypt, or the *Rif*, comprehended all below it. Under the Ptolemies, and probably at an earlier period, the whole country was subdivided into thirty-six nomes and provinces, which the Mam-louk sultans, in the fourteenth century, reduced to twelve, viz. :*

I. THE SAID.

1. Province of Thebes.
2. ————— Djirjeh.
3. ————— Siout.

II. THE VOSTANI.

4. Province of Fayoum.
5. ————— Beni Suweif.
6. ————— Minyet.

III. THE BAHARI.

7. Province of Bahyreh.
8. ————— Raschid (Rosetta).
9. ————— Charbiyeh.
10. ————— Menoof.
11. ————— Massoora.
12. ————— Sharkiyeh.

The following table is given in the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, as exhibiting the Greek, Egyptian, and Arabian names of the ancient and modern divisions, in the order in which they occur in descending the Nile from Nubia :—

* The above table is taken from *Malte Brun*; but he adds to the last division, "the Cairo district, consisting of the subdivisions of Kelioobeh and Attishish." These, at all events, form no part of the *Bahari*.

UPPER EGYPT.

Greek.	Egyptian.	Arabic.	Present Name of the Province
1. Ombos.	.....	Kum-Oimbo.	
2. Apollonopolis. Magna.	Atbō.	Odfū.	
3. Letopolis.	Snē.	Isna or Esne.	
4. Hermontis.	Ermont.	Erment.	
5. Diospolis or Thebæ.	.....	Medinet Abū.	Cūs.
6. Pathures, or Pathros.	.....	El Ocsorein.	
7. Coptos.	Keft.	Kift.	
8. Tentyris.	Tentore or Kentore.	.....	Denderā.
9. Diospolis Parva.	Hū or Ho.	Huw.	
10. Abydus.			
11. Oasis Major.	Wahe.	El Wah.	
12. Ptolemais.	Psoi.	Ibsai.	
13. Panopolis or Chemmis.	Khmmim or Shmmim.	.....	Ikhmim. Ikhmim.
14. Aphroditopolis.	.....	Idfeh.	
15. Antæopolis.	Tkōū	Cáú.	
16. Hypselis.	Shōtp	Shōtb.	
17. Lycopolis.	Slout.	Osyut.	Osyut.
18. Hermopolis.	Shmun.	Oshmuneln.	
19. Theodosiopolis.	Tuhō.	Tahā.	Oshmunein.
20. Cynopolis.	Kais.	El Kais.	
21. Oxyrrhynchus.	Pemje.	Behensa or Behnlsa.	Behnasa.
22. Oasis Minor.	Wahe.	El Wah.	
23. Heracleopolis.	Hnēs.	Ehnas.	
24. Arsinoë or Cro- codilopolis.	Phiom.	Fayyum.	Fayyum.
25. Aphrodiopolis.	Tpeh.	Atfih.	Atfih.
26. Memphis.	Memfi.	Menf.	Jizeh.

LOWER EGYPT.

1. Pharæthus.	Pharbäit.	Horbäit.	Sharkiyyeh.
2. Tanis.	Jani.	San.	Dacahliyyeh.
3. Mendes.	Shmun Aner- man.	.....	Oshnum.
4. Prosopis.	Pshati.	Ibshadeh.	Gharbiyyeh.
5. Sals.	Sal.	Sa-el-hajar.	
6. Busiris.	Pusiri.	Busir.	

Greek.	Egyptian.	Arabic.	Present Name of the Province.
7. Sebennytus.	Shemnuti.	Semennud.	
8. Onuphis.			
9. Buto or Butus.	Pteneto.		
10. Cabasa.	Khbehs.	Kabas.	

EASTERN OR ARABIAN PREFECT. *Ti-Arabia.**

1. Heliopolis.	On.	Matariyeh { or Ain Shems.	Calyubiyeh.
2. Athribis.	Athrebi.	Atrib.	Sharkiyyeh.
3. Bubastis.	Pubasti.	Tel Basteh.	
4. Arabia.	Ti-Arabia.	Tarabiyyah.	Calyubbiyyeh.
5. Sethrum.	Psariom.		Dacahliyyeh.

WESTERN OR LIBYAN PREFECT.

1. Alexandria.	Racoti.	Al Iskander-	Iskanderly-
2. Menelaus.		rlyeh.	yeh. Bahireh.
3. Andropolis.			

Another Table, calculated from the number of houses in each district, as reported by the collectors of the *miri* recently imposed by the present Pasha, will give a view of the manner in which the population are distributed. Four persons are allowed to each house in the country, and eight in Cairo. †

Provinces and Cities.	Villages.	Persons.
1. Cairo, Bulac, and Misr-el-Ateek		218,560
2. Kelyubiyeh	140	177,488
3. Sharkiyyeh	310	189,668
4. Mansuriyeh (or Dacahliyyeh)	315	197,000
5. Damietta		13,600

Carried over	765	796,316

* These nomes, comprehending the territory on each side of the Delta beyond the Canopic and Pelusiac arms of the Nile, are not comprehended in the thirty-six mentioned by Diodorus and Strabo, and are supposed to have been subsequently formed.

† Ency. Metrop. We have adhered to the orthography adopted in this work, although we are not aware of any sufficient reason for offending the eye with the double y and some other unusual peculiarities.

<i>Provinces and Cities.</i>	<i>Villages.</i>	<i>Persons.</i>
Brought over	765	790,316
6. Gharbliyyeh (or Abyar).....	360	230,456
7. Menufliyyeh.....	312	224,480
8. Bahhireh	280	89,528
9. Rashid (Rosetta)		13,440
10. Iskanderliyyeh (Alexandria)		12,528
11. Jiziyeh	120	101,920
12. Atfikhiyyeh.....	80	45,928
13. Fayyumiyyeh	66	58,480
14. Beni Suweif (or Behnesawliyyeh)	367	184,120
15. Menyeh-beni-Khasib (Oshmuneln)	250	154,256
16. Suyut (or Osyutliyyeh).....	306	189,900
17. Jirjeh (or Ikhmimiyyeh)	374	326,160
18. Esneh (or Cusiyyeh).....	195	86,888
	<hr/> 3475	<hr/> 2,514,400

To complete this sketch of the physical and political geography of Egypt, we ought now to take a survey of its motley population; but we must first cast a retrospective glance at the history and varying fortunes of this ancient country.

HISTORY OF EGYPT.

AT the very commencement of the Jewish history, we find Abraham, a Chaldean shepherd, emigrating into the fertile land of Egypt, when a famine prevailed in Canaan, and honourably received by its monarch. The date of this event is fixed by chronologists about 1918 years before the Christian era, and 490 years after the deluge, according to the received computation. At that time, the kingdom of Thebes is supposed to have existed above a thousand years: it was probably founded, at all events, soon after the dispersion of the Noachite family. When Menes, the first king of mortal race whom the Egyptians acknow-

* See note at p. 47.

ledge, took possession of the country, the whole of Egypt, south of the Thebaid, is said to have been a morass. Menes diverted the course of the Nile, which, before that period, washed the foot of Mount Psammius, a part of the Libyan chain, and having, by means of mounds, secured the area against inundation, founded the city of Memphis. Thebes was still, in the time of Homer, however, the glory of Egypt; nor was it till the reign of Uchoreus, the last of the race of Osymandias, or Ismendes, that the seat of the monarchy was transferred from Thebes to Memphis,* which continued to be the royal residence till destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, about 567 B.C. On the other hand, Sais is stated to have been the abode and burial-place of a powerful dynasty of native monarchs; and this city, the birth-place of Cecrops, sent forth the colonies which founded Athens about 1556 B.C. The ruins of this ancient capital, which was still flourishing in the time of Marcus Aurelius, are found on the eastern bank of the Rosetta stream, below the mouth of the canal of Damanhur, and are called *Sa-el-hajar*.

The fact appears to be, that, in early times, every great city was the capital of a more or less extended empire, and had its dynasty of petty sovereigns; that these cities or their kings not unfrequently contended with their neighbours for a supremacy which was sometimes of a purely political, sometimes of an

" As 331 of the successors of Menes are recorded in the Egyptian annals, if those documents could be trusted, the period elapsed between the beginning of his reign and the time of Herodotus, would amount to 3320 years, allowing only ten years to each reign; and the foundation of Memphis would be carried back to the thirty-eighth century before the Christian era! Diodorus, however, ascribes the foundation of Memphis to Uchoreus, eighth successor to Busiris II."—*Ency. Metrop.*

ecclesiastical nature; but that, whether tributary or supreme, these monarchies were contemporaneous, not successive, except when any of them became extinguished by foreign conquest, and the site of the city itself was deserted for another settlement. Thus, we find mentioned in the book of Genesis, no fewer than five territorial sovereigns, whose domains were situated in Arabia Petræa, viz., the kings of Sodom, Gomorrha, Admah, Zeboim, and Bela, or Zoar, who had for twelve years acknowledged the supremacy of the king of Elam, when they confederated against him. Chedorlaomer had for his allies, the kings of Shinar, Ellasar, and Goim, who appear to have possessed territories lying between Palestine and the Euphrates. Salem, afterwards the capital of Judæa, was then the capital of Melchi Zedek, who united in his person the pontifical and regal characters; and Gerar, a city of the Philistines, between the deserts of Kadesh and Shur, was the kingdom of Abi-Melek, the friend and ally of Abraham and his son. It is not to be supposed that the whole of Egypt, any more than Palestine, Arabia, and Syria, was in the possession of one monarch; and, indeed, the existence of several rival cities may be held as almost equivalent to that of so many kingdoms, as every city had its king.* There are seven districts in which the various dynasties of Egyptian monarchs are said to have subsisted; Diospolis or Thebes, Memphis, Tanis, Bubastis, Sais, Sethron, and Elephantine. Some of these dynasties at least were collateral, although national vanity or ignorance has made them all successive; and this will alone explain the perplexed and contradictory chronology of the ancient catalogues.

* See Gen. xxxvi. 32, 35, 39. "*Quot urbes, tot regna,*" is the remark of the learned Marsham.

It has often been remarked as not a little surprising, that the name of Thebes should not occur in the Old Testament. But, if the word be derived from the Egyptian word *Thbaki*, the city, as M. Champollion states, it may be, as D'Herbelot suggests, the No-Ammon of the Prophet Nahum.* That city, however, it is clear, was not in Mizraim or the Egypt of Scripture, since Ethiopia and Egypt, Phut and Libya were its tributaries or allies; and in fact, the Thebais or Said was a distinct country from Mizraim. The Ammonians are described by Herodotus as a mixed race, bordering on the Egyptians on the south and the Ethiopians on the north, and speaking a dialect composed of words taken from both those nations: he supposes them to have taken their name from their patron deity; but it was, most probably, derived from their city, and if so, they were Thebans. All the transactions relating to Egypt recorded in the sacred history, are generally admitted to have taken place in Lower Egypt. Subsequently, the whole country was reduced under one yoke; and it is, in most cases, from foreign conquests, that we may date the consolidation of the minor kingdoms or principalities into an extended empire. The Greeks, who mistook *Aegyptus* for a name of the Nile, naturally comprehended the whole country which it waters, as high as the stream was considered navigable, under the same name. But while the nomade tribes, the dwellers in tents, took their national appellative from some great chieftain or primeval ancestor,—as is still the case with the Arabs of the wilderness,—the commercial tribes, who gloried in the privilege of citizens,

* Nah. iii. 8. The No-Ammon of the Hebrews and the *Diospolis* of the Greeks, are, according to Champollion, mere translations of the *Thbaki-artepi-Amoun* of the Egyptians, that is, City of the Most High. But he supposes No-Ammon to be *Diospolis Parva*.

were nationally distinguished by their metropolis. It was thus with the Phenicians of Tyre and Carthage, the Greeks of Athens, Thebes, and Sparta; and the practice still prevails among the oriental nations.

Another circumstance is of great importance in order to obtain any thing approaching to a clear or consistent view of Egyptian history. Not only was the country thus distributed, originally, into collateral kingdoms, but the colonists who successively planted themselves on the banks of the Nile, consisted of several very distinct races, differing widely in their physiological characteristics, as well as in their rites and customs. The proper Egyptians, who were black, were a nation very different from the yellow race who are represented by the modern Bedjahs, and not less so from the Macrobian Ethiopians, and the dwarfish race of Troglodyte negroes; besides which, the Ammonians, we have seen, were a mixed people. Not less striking is the contrast presented by the modern natives of Egypt, Nubia, and the adjacent territories. The respective origin and filiation of these various tribes form one of the most curious problems in ancient history.

There are two directions in which we may suppose that Egypt received its aboriginal population from the common central source; by the Isthmus of Suez, and through Ethiopia by the Indian Ocean. The former route would be that by which a pastoral tribe would reach the banks of the Nile, while the merchant, the fugitive, and the conqueror, would more readily cross over to Africa from some part of the Arabian coast, or reach it by means of the monsoon.* There are

* As vessels coming with the monsoon for the Gulf of Persia make Muscat, so, those bound for Hadramaut or Aden, run down their longitude to the coast of Africa. Here, therefore, from the

proofs, in fact, of a very early intercourse by this means, between not only the Arabian Saba and Abyssinia, but also between Egypt and India. The remarks of the learned Translator of the *Periplus of Nearchus*, on the subject of the early intercourse with India, throw considerable light on the true origin of the Egyptian greatness.

In the thirty-seventh chapter of *Genesis*, it is related, that the brethren of Joseph, when about to leave him to perish, saw a company of Ishmaelite or Midianite merchants approach, to whom they resolved to sell their brother as a slave. "Here," remarks Dr. Vincent, "upon opening the oldest history in the world, we find the Ishmaelites from Gilead conducting a caravan of camels loaded with the spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramaut, and, in the regular course of their traffic, proceeding to Egypt for a market. The date of this transaction is more than seventeen centuries prior to the Christian era; and notwithstanding its antiquity, it has all the genuine features of a caravan crossing the Desert at the present hour." The received chronology fixes this event about 1729 B.C., in the reign, according to Manetho, of the Diospolitan king, Amenophis (or Pharmenoph) I., the third monarch of the eighteenth dynasty; that is, very near the commencement of any thing approaching to authentic history in the Egyptian annals. The intrusive dynasty of the Phenician shepherd-kings is the seventeenth of Manetho's catalogue, and, if not collateral, terminated about 145 years before Joseph was sold to the Midianites. The Pharaoh who made the Hebrew Mamlouk his vizier, must have

earliest period that the monsoons were known to the Arabians, there would be ports established,

reigned between B.C. 1720 and 1680; but, as we believe that he never reigned at Thebes, we do not look for his name in the Diospolitan dynasty.* The vocal Colossus in the plain of Thebes bears a hieroglyphical inscription, which shews, according to M. Champollion, that it represents Amenophis II., who reigned nearly 1700 years B.C. He seems, therefore, to have been the contemporary of the Egyptian sovereign who had Joseph for his prime minister. But to return to the subject of the Indian trade.

"In the thirtieth chapter of Exodus," † observes Dr. Vincent, "we find an enumeration of cinnamon, cassia, myrrh, frankincense, stacte, onycha, and galbanum, all which are the produce either of India or of Arabia. Moses speaks of these as precious and appropriate to religious uses, but at the same time in such quantities as to shew that they were neither very rare nor very difficult to be obtained. Now it happens, that cinnamon and cassia are two species of the same spice, and that spice is not to be found nearer Egypt or Palestine, than Ceylon or the coast of Malabar. If, then, they were found in Egypt, they must have been imported; there must have been intermediate carriers; and a communication of some kind, even in that age, must have been open between India and Egypt. That the Egyptians themselves might have been ignorant of this, is possible; for, that the Greeks and Romans, so late as the time of Augustus, thought cinnamon the produce of Arabia, is manifest from their writings. But it has been proved from Agatharchides, that the

* The names which follow Amenophis I., in the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho, are, Amessis (sister), 1717 B.C.; Mesphres (son), 1699; Misphragmuthosis, 1683; Thmosis II., 1660; Amenophis II. (Memnon), 1651.—See *Ency. Brit. Sup.*, art. *Egypt*.

† About 1491 B.C.

merchants of Sabæa traded to India, and that at the time when Alexandria possessed the monopoly of this trade in regard to Europe, the Sabeans enjoyed a similar advantage in regard to Egypt.

“ There are but two possible ways of conveying the commodities of India to the West; one by land through Persia, or the provinces on the north; the other by sea; and if by sea, Arabia must in all ages have been the medium through which this commerce passed, whether the Arabians went to Malabar itself, or obtained these articles in Carmania, or at the mouths of the Indus.....In no age were the Persians, Indians, and Egyptians, navigators;* and, if we exclude these, we have no other choice but to fix on the Arabians as the only nation which could furnish mariners, carriers, or merchants on the Indian Ocean. It is not meant to assert, that the above-mentioned nations never used the sea; they certainly did upon their own coasts; but there are not now, nor does history prove that there ever were, any navigators, properly so called, in the Eastern seas, except the Arabians, Malays, and Chinese. The Chinese, probably, never passed the Straits of Malacca: the Malays seem in all ages to have traded with India, and probably with the coast of Africa. †.....The Arabians have a sea-coast round three sides of their vast peninsula; they had no prejudices against navigation either from habit or reli-

* The Malay language is a mixture of Coptic, Sanscrit, and Arabic.

† “ The religion of India forbids the natives to pass the Attock: it is the forbidden river (from *Atak*, limit). And if their religion was the same formerly that it is now, they could not go to sea, for even those who navigate the rivers, must always eat on land. The Persians, if their religion was that of Zoroaster, could not go to sea, for the Guebres (Parsces), who build the finest ships in the world at Bombay, must never navigate them. The Egyptians did

gion. There is no history which treats of them, which does not notice them as pirates or merchants by sea, as robbers or traders by land. We scarcely touch upon them in any author, without finding that they were the carriers of the Indian Ocean.

“ These considerations induce a belief, that, in the very earliest ages, even prior to Moses, the communication with India was open; that the intercourse with that continent was in the hands of the Arabians; that Thebes owed its splendour to that commerce; and that Memphis rose from the same cause to the same pre-eminence. Cairo succeeded to both in wealth, grandeur, and magnificence, all which it must have maintained to the present hour, if the discoveries of the Portuguese had not changed the commerce of the world. The essential difference between these three capitals and Alexandria, proves, past contradiction, the different spirit and superior system of the Greeks. These three capitals were inland, for the sake of security; a proof that the natives were never navigators or sovereigns of the sea. The Greeks were both, and therefore the capital of the Ptolemies was Alexandria. Their fleets were superior to all that had ever appeared on the Mediterranean; and the power of their kingdom was such, that nothing but a succession of weak and wicked princes could have destroyed it. While Egypt was under the power of native sovereigns, Tyre, Sidon, Aradus, Cyprus, Greece, Sicily, and Carthage, were all enriched by the trade carried on in its ports, and by the articles of commerce which could be obtained there, and there only.

not only abhor the sea themselves, but all those likewise who used it. Linschotin in Purchas writes: ‘ The Abexiins (Abyssinians) and Arabians, such as are free, do serve in all India for saylers or seafaring men.’ ”—VINCENT, vol. ii. pp. 232, 3.

The Egyptians themselves were hardly known in the Mediterranean as the exporters of their own commodities: they were the Chinese of the ancient world, and the ships of all nations, except their own, laded in their harbours.* The system of the Ptolemies was exactly the reverse. Alexandria grew up to be the first mart of the world; and the Greeks of Egypt were the carriers of the Mediterranean, as well as the agents, factors, and importers of Oriental produce. The cities which had risen under the former system, silently sank into insignificance; and so wise was the new policy, and so deep had it taken root, that the Romans, upon the subjection of Egypt, found it more expedient to leave Alexandria in possession of its privileges, than to alter the course of trade, or to occupy it themselves, contenting themselves with the revenue, rather than the property of the country. This revenue, amounting to more than three millions sterling, they enjoyed for more than 600 years; and, till the moment of the Arabian conquest, Alexandria continued the second city in the empire in rank, and the first, perhaps, in wealth, commerce, and prosperity.”†

The preceding paragraphs contain, in fact, an outline of the ancient history of Egypt, taking that appellation in the extended sense in which it was understood by the Greeks and Romans. The Mitzraim of the Old Testament, however, does not appear to have been marked by any of the characteristics of a commercial state. The subjects of Pharaoh were a nation of cultivators, and their country was the granary of the East: they had also horses, flocks, herds,

* “As subject to the Persians, Macedonians, and Romans, indeed, Egypt furnished large fleets; but it never appeared as a nayal power under its native sovereigns.”

† Vincent's *Periplus. Prel. Disp.*, vol. i.

and asses. This account corresponds only to Lower Egypt. Much learned discussion has been employed in ascertaining what part of modern Egypt answers to the land of Goshen or of Rameses, which is described as "the best of the land," and affording pasture for their herds. In Macrizi's time, the nome of Pharbait,* a part of the eastern province (*El Sharkiyeh*), bordering on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, was considered to be the land of Goshen. But that word, M. Quatremère has observed, is rendered Sedir in the earliest Arabic versions of the Old Testament; and by comparing several passages collected from different writers, he is led to infer, that the *Wadi Toumilat*, in which the canal of Cairo terminates, is the land of Goshen.† The Seventy call it Γερσεμ της Αραβίας, which renders it probable that it was at all events on the Arabian side of the Nile. The original word might properly be read Gushan, and by an ancient Syrian lexicographer, is always written with a caph—Cushan or Cusan. Ptolemy writes it Φανκονοσα, which is supposed to have been the name both of a

* Bryant's derivation of this word from *Phar-beit* or *beth*, Pharaoh's house, if admissible, would give plausibility to this opinion. Bryant, vol. vi. p. 356.

† Ency. Metrop. On the eastern side of the river, the first two canals derived from it are above the present fork of the Delta. The canal of Heliopolis or Cairo, called *El Khalij el kebir* (the great canal), issuing from the Nile near Cairo, passes by Matarriyeh, which occupies the site of Heliopolis, into the *Birket el Hajji* (Pilgrim's Pool); thence turns northward, and after a course of twenty-one miles, falls into the *Bahr Abu'l Muncija*. The latter, which is the second canal issuing from the eastern side of the Nile, begins six miles below Cairo, runs for twelve miles to Bilbeis, and passes thence into the *Wady Toumilat*, a transverse valley containing the ancient *Lacus Amarus*, a part of the canal made by the Pharaohs to unite the Red Sea with the Nile, the course of which is probably marked by this canal. In the extraordinary inundation of 1800, its waters advanced within forty miles of Suez.

city and its province, which he terms the Arabian nome ; while Strabo places Phaccusa on “ the Arabian canal ” on the eastern side of the Nile. Now, adjoining the nome of Heliopolis in the Eastern prefect, is that of *Ti-arabia*, which, if Gushan be allowed to have reference to the Cushite Arabs, would seem to be merely a translation of the original word. The full discussion of this point belongs rather to our topographical section ; but there can be little doubt, on the whole, that in this part of the modern province of Calyubiyeh, the land of Goshen, afterwards called Rameses, was situated ; while Matarriyeh, about six miles to the N.E. of Memphis, near a spring of excellent water, which still bears the name of *Ain Shems* (fountain of the sun), marks the site of the ancient metropolis of Lower Egypt.* The *Beth-Shemesh* of the Prophet Jeremiah † is supposed to be the same city, and is translated by the Seventy, *Heliopolis*. As the Hebrews increased, Dr. Shaw supposes with great probability, that they would spread themselves further towards Phibeseth (Bubastis) northward, and Latopolis southward. Phithom, one of the treasure-cities which the Hebrews are said to have been employed in building, is apparently the *Pathumos* of Herodotus, which was upon the Arabian canal lead-

* See Ency. Metrop., art. Egypt. Shaw's Travels, pp. 341—4. Bryant's Mythology, vol. vi. pp. 120—135; 155—61. “ It seems pretty plain,” Bryant justly remarks, “ from the tenor of Scripture, that they came into a vacant, unoccupied district ; and, as it was the best of the land, there is no accounting for its being unoccupied, but by the secession of the Cuseans, whose property it had lately been.” The learned writer is strangely misled by his etymological fancies, when he places the Arabian nome to the west of the Sebennytic arm, making Cercasura its chief city.

† Jer. xliii. 13. Aven or Aun, Ezek. xxx. 17, is also On or Heliopolis.

ing from Phaccusa towards the Red Sea. The situation of Rameses is doubtful, but it is supposed to have been in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and must at all events have been within the Arabian nome.* The metropolis of the kingdom of the Pharaohs, however, which gave its name to Lower Egypt, was doubtless Misr (the name by which Fostat or Old Cairo is still known); and it was here, we may suppose, that the Mizraite kings resided. As to the statement that the Delta, prior to the achievement of the Diospolitan monarch, was a morass, it is not irreconcileable with the high antiquity of the Mizraite kingdom, which seems to have been chiefly confined to the Arabian side of the Pelusiac arm; and if the lower land was marshy, the higher land was probably fertile at a greater distance from the river. Another explanation, however, may be given. When the kingdom of Lower Egypt became blended with that of Thebes, under the common name of Egypt, the annals of the Mizraite dynasty were lost in the fabulous annals of the Diospolitan race of kings. †

We are told by Syncellus, that Egypt had been in subjection to a threefold race of kings, the *Auritæ*, the *Mestræi*, and the Egyptian. The *Mestræi* were undoubtedly the genuine descendants of Mizraim, who gave name to the country of Lower Egypt. The *Auritæ* are supposed to be the foreign dynasty of shepherd-kings, who, according to Josephus, main-

* There is a town called Rumasi, not far from Memphis.

† Bryant's remark seems deserving of attention, whatever may be thought of the reasoning in connexion with which it occurs. "It is extremely remarkable, that among the many dynasties of Egyptian kings who reigned at different places, there is no list transmitted to us of any Heliopolitan princes. Yet, Heliopolis was a seat of royalty, and kings did certainly reign there, of whom there are many memorials."—*Analysis*, vol. vi. p. 372.

tained themselves in Egypt five hundred and eleven years, terminating about 1874 B.C. But, according to Manetho, they were only six in number, and the sum of their reigns was only 260 years. They are said to have come from the East; to have set fire to the towns, and overturned the temples of the Egyptians; and to have been in a state of constant hostility with the natives. At length, the people of Upper Egypt, alarmed at the incursion of such formidable neighbours, attacked and defeated them; and they ultimately retired into Syria. There is reason to doubt, however, that the Thebaid was ever subject to these foreigners. Indeed, they are expressly said to have been contemporary with as many kings of Thebes.* The *Auriteæ* are supposed to have been worshippers of fire, as all the ancient Arabians were; and their chief city, which Josephus writes *Avagis*, from which their name seems to be derived, is supposed by Bryant to be the same word as the Hebrew *Ur* or *Aur*, signifying light and fire.† To this same

* Bryant, vol. iv. p. 420.

† The chief God of the Arabians was Alorus, supposed to be the Hephaestus of the Greeks, and the Mulciber or Vulcan of the Latins. The meaning of *Al Orus* is the god of fire. “ The Shepherds were called *Auriteæ*, from the chief object of their worship; and their kings were styled priests of Alorus; according to the Greeks, the priests of Vulcan; which title often occurs in the annals of Egypt. From these particulars, we may infer that they came from Babylonia, a country that lay due east from Egypt, and which was the original seat of the genuine Arabians, and the true source whence their religion flowed. The two principal cities of that country were *Ur* (or, as it is otherwise written, *Aur*, and *Ougia*) and *Babylon*. In memory of which they built two of the same name in Egypt. The place of residence, where their kings held their court, was *Memphis*; but the provinces that they were particularly seized of were *Phaccusa* and *Heliopolis*. In all these places they introduced the *Theba Schamaim* or *Zabian* worship, together with the worship of fire. Hence we learn from Herodotus

people, or to sovereigns of the same race, though probably at a later period, the erection of the pyramids is with great plausibility ascribed. The alleged absence of hieroglyphics in these stupendous structures, together with their peculiar character and form, has been thought to prove that they were erected by foreign tyrants. "The Cheops (or Chemmis), Chephren, and Mycerinus of Herodotus and Diodorus," remarks Dr. Young, "supposed to be the builders of the pyramids, are nowhere found in Manetho, who attributes some of these edifices to the fourth dynasty, in which we have Suphis, Suphis, and Mencheres, each supposed to have reigned more than sixty years; the names having so much of general resemblance to those of Herodotus, that they may easily have been corruptions of the same originals. It is impossible to conjecture what date we must assign to this dynasty, although it is remarkable, that the names and characters of several

that Vulcan was particularly honoured at Heliopolis and Memphis. Both these places they are said to have built, and to the latter they gave the name of *Ain Shems* or *Shemesh*. . . . Pliny tells us, that Juba, in his history, particularly maintained that Heliopolis was built by Arabians; and Diodorus Siculus alludes to the same circumstance, when he says that Uchoreus, or the prince Orus, was the founder of Memphis; for Orus is a name of Chaldean origin, by which their chief deity was signified, as well as some of their kings, who assumed the name themselves, or had it bestowed upon them by their subjects."—Bryant's Mythol. vol. vi. pp. 119-20. A curious passage is cited by this learned though fanciful writer from Eusebius, which he thus interprets: "When Acherres was king in Egypt, there likewise reigned there a foreign prince, who was descended from Orus, and of the shepherd race, the seventh from Inachus (Noah)." He infers from this reading, that the migration of shepherds must have been about the time of Serug or Nahor; which is the time fixed upon by Usher. "A.M. 1920. *Ex vicina Arabia irrumpens gens eorum quae Hyc-sos, id est Reges Pastores, Egyptii vocant, Memphis ceperant &c.*"—USSERII Annal. p. 3. Bishop Cumberland fixes it at A.M. 1937. See BRYANT, vol. vi. pp. 151, 15, 3.

of the kings agree sufficiently well with those of Sesostris and his immediate predecessors which occur much later in the catalogue."* Bryant contends, that the *Auritæ* preceded the Mizraim; that there was no antecedent dynasty; and that with them commences the real history of Egypt.† It is evident, however, that the Egyptians both existed as a people, and had temples and cities, prior to their irruption; and the opinion open to the fewest objections is, that they were collateral and bordering nations, sometimes at war, sometimes in amity; that the Nile was the original boundary which separated the Phenician (or Arabian) and Mizraite races; that about the time of Joseph, the former had either deserted the territory they had occupied, or had ceded it to the latter people; and that, owing to these circumstances in the history

* Ency. Brit. Sup., art. Egypt. "The third pyramid," it is added, "in Africanus's extract from Manetho, is attributed to Nitocris, who is referred to the sixth dynasty." These contradictory statements favour the opinion, that their history does not belong to that of the native dynasties of Egypt.

† "Syncellus, having mentioned from the ancient Chronicle the imaginary reigns of the gods, comes at last to those who really reigned, and places them in this order: 'The first series of princes was that of the *Auritæ*; the second was that of the *Mestræans* (or *Mizraim*); the third of Egyptians.' However high the later Egyptians may have carried their antiquity, I cannot admit of any dynasty prior to the fifteenth, *counting back from the last*. Both Manetho and Africanus place the *Auritæ* or shepherds in the fifteenth dynasty, but count from the first. Eusebius also places them in the fifteenth if we count from the last. The words of Africanus are very remarkable. 'The fifteenth is the dynasty of the shepherds (*λαοὶ πιστῶν*). These were foreign princes styled *Phœnices*. They first built themselves a city in the Sethroite region, whence they made their invasion and conquered all Egypt.... The shepherd-kings, and those of Thebes, reigned the same number of years, which amount to one hundred and fifty-one.'—BRYANT's *Anal.* vol. iv. pp. 409, 410. See also pp. 427, and 461. The Sethroite nome is now part of Dacahliyeh.

of the country, the annals of two kingdoms, at once contemporaneous and successive, have been blended.

The Diospolitan monarchs were certainly contemporary both with the Phenician shepherd-kings of Abaris, or the Arabian Ur, and with the Pharaohs of Mizraim ; and we cannot but believe that, collaterally with the reign of the *Aurites* or shepherd-kings, and during the time that they retained possession of the Arabian nome up to the very apex of the Delta, there existed a kingdom of Mizraim or Lower Egypt, distinct from that of Thebes, which ultimately extended itself over the whole country.*

The Israelites resided in Egypt about 215 years, and departed, according to Manetho, in the reign of Amenophis, the third king of the nineteenth Diospolitan dynasty. He is said to have been the son of Rampses or Rameses, (in honour of whom, possibly, one of the treasure-cities was named,) and the grandson of Sethos *Ægyptus*, with whom the dynasty commenced. This personage, Bryant supposes to be the prince alluded to by the sacred historian, Exod. i. 3, where it is said, that "there arose up a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph." "He was not acquainted with the merits of Joseph, because he was the first king of a new dynasty, and of a different family from those who had been under such immediate obligations to the Patriarch. In the ancient histories,

* Our reasons for this opinion are, 1. That as Thebes certainly existed in the time of Joseph and Moses, yet was not the capital of the Pharaohs, it must have been that of a distinct kingdom ; 2. That there is no reason to think that the shepherd-kings ever crossed the Nile, or even the Pelusiac arm ; 3. That it is much more probable that the Mizraim retired before the Arabians, than that they submitted so early to a foreign dynasty ; and 4. That they must have had kings, or at least some form of government from the earliest times.

there is a distinction between the Mizraim and the Egyptians ; and the former were looked upon as prior in time. Thus, in the Old Chronicle (preserved by Syncellus), the reigns of the kings are divided into three classes ; the first of which is the Auritæ, the next of the Mizraim, and the third of the Egyptians... We find," adds the learned Writer, " that the genuine race of Egyptian monarchs did not commence before Sethos." *

This remark will probably be correct, if we understand the word *Ægyptian* as originally limited, like Mizraim, to Lower Egypt ; and this Sethos might seem to be the *Ægyptus* who, according to the Greek historians, gave his name to the country. According to Suidas, however, it was Ramesses, the son of Belus, who bore this surname. But who *Ægyptus* really was, and whence he derived that appellation, whether from the land or city he came from, or from the country he conquered, it is impossible to ascertain. The assertion that he changed the name of the country, favours the supposition that he was a foreign conqueror, and that the appellation of Egypt originated with foreign nations.*

The name of Sethos or Sethosis would lead us to identify this monarch with the Sesostris of the Greeks, the most extraordinary personage in Egyptian history, and the first great warrior whose achievements are recorded with any degree of distinctness. He is said to have been the immediate successor of Mœris, whose name is preserved in that of the lake which he constructed, but of whom no other record has been preserved. In what age of the world Sesostris lived,

* Bryant, vol. iv. p. 470.

† See p. 4 ; also, Bryant's Anal., vol. iv. p. 300.

chronologists have hitherto in vain attempted to ascertain. By Sir Isaac Newton and Sir John Marsham, he is supposed to be the Sesac or Shishak who took Jerusalem in the reign of Rehoboam;* while Mr. Whiston supposes him to be the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea. Bryant considers him to have been altogether an ideal hero, but remarks, that, if such a person ever existed, his reign must have been of the earliest date, and be referred to the era of the demigods of Egypt. The fact appears to be, that the name refers to two personages, whose history has been confounded; the one fabulous, the same, probably, as Osiris, and ranked among the deities; the other, a real historical personage, whatever portion of fable may be mingled with the narrative of his exploits. Nothing was more common than for the kings and heroes of India and Egypt to assume or to be invested with the names of their deities; and hence, real history and mythological allegory are often blended and confused in the accounts transmitted to us.† It may relieve the dullness of these chronological inves-

* Bryant remarks, that every circumstance of their history is repugnant to this notion; and Josephus expressly says, that they were two different persons. There seems good reason to believe, that Shishak is the Sesonchis of Manetho, the first king of the 22nd or Bubastite dynasty, whose name, as well as that of his successor Osorhon, has been discovered by M. Champollion on one of the colonnades at Karnak; written, "*The beloved of Amon, Scheschonk.*" Osorhon is probably the Asychis of Herodotus.

† Eusebius, in reckoning up the dynasty of kings who reigned after Hephaistus or Vulcan, mentions them in the following order: "Then succeeded his son Helius; after him, Sosis; then Osiris; then Thoules, who conquered the whole earth to the ocean; and last of all, Sesostris." The Schollast upon Apollonius Rhodius calls him Sesonchosis, and places him immediately after Orus, and the third from Osiris. Another ancient authority makes him the

tigations, to insert the outline of the exploits of this famous monarch.

Among the various writers who have given us an account of this extraordinary personage, Diodorus Siculus is the most uniform and full. He informs us, that when this prince was a youth, he was intrusted by his father with a great army, at the head of which he invaded Arabia; and though he was obliged to encounter hunger and thirst in the wilds which he traversed, yet he subdued the whole of that large tract of country. He was afterwards sent for into the west, where he conquered all the regions of Libya, and annexed great part of that country to the kingdom of Egypt. After the death of his father, he formed a resolution to subdue all the nations upon earth. Accordingly, having settled every thing at home, and appointed governors to each of the thirty-six nomes or provinces into which he had divided the country, he set out with an army of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 armed chariots. With these he invaded the Ethiopians to the south, whom he defeated, and made tributaries to Egypt. He then built a fleet of ships upon the Red Sea; and he is recorded as the first person who constructed vessels fit for distant navigation. With these, by means of his generals, he subdued all the sea-coast of Arabia, and all the coast upon the ocean as far as India. In the mean time, he marched in person with a puissant army by land, and conquered the whole continent of Asia. He not only overran the countries which Alexander after-

first of the line of Ham who reigned in Egypt. Manetho makes him the son of Sesonchosis, and the second of the 12th dynasty. Herodotus calls him (or his son) Pheron, corrupted probably from Pharaoh. Others write his name Sesoosis, Sosiris, Sethoais, and *Zwergos*.—See BRYANT, vol. iv. pp. 364—8, 426.

wards invaded, but crossed both the Indus and the Ganges, and from thence penetrated to the Eastern Ocean. He then turned to the north, and attacked the nations of Scythia, till he at last arrived at the Tanaïs, which divides Europe from Asia. Here he founded a colony, leaving behind him some of his people, as he had just before done at Colchis. These nations are said to have retained to the last, memorials of their origin from Egypt. About the same time, Asia Minor and most of the islands near it, fell into his hands. He at last passed into Thrace, where he is said to have been brought into some difficulties from the scarcity of provisions. He, however, persevered, and subdued all the regions of Europe. In most of these countries, he erected pillars with hieroglyphical inscriptions, denoting that these parts of the world had been subdued by the great Sesostris, or, as Diodorus expresses his name, Sesoosis. He likewise erected statues of himself, formed of stone, with a bow and a lance, which statues were in length four cubits and four palms, according to the dimensions of his own height and stature. Having thus finished his career of victory, he returned to Egypt, laden with spoils, and dragging after him innumerable captives. This expedition is stated to have occupied nine years, which is one year less than is attributed to the expeditions of Hercules.

Sesostris now laid aside all thoughts of war, and applied himself wholly to works of national utility and beneficence. In order to prevent the incursions of the Syrians and Arabians, he fortified the east side of Egypt with a wall, which ran from Pelusium through the desert to Heliopolis, for $187\frac{1}{2}$ miles. He raised also an incredible number of vast and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed such towns as had before

been situated too low, in order to secure them from the inundation of the Nile. All the way from Memphis to the sea, he dug canals which branched out from the Nile, and not only made an easier communication between different places, but rendered the country in a great measure impassable to an enemy. He erected a temple in every city in Egypt, and dedicated it to the supreme deity of the place ; but in these mighty works, he made it his glory not to employ any of his Egyptian subjects.* Thus he secured their affection, and employed the vast multitude of captives he had brought along with him ; and to perpetuate the memory of a transaction so remarkable, he caused to be inscribed on all these temples, “ No one native laboured hereon.” In the city of Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he raised six gigantic statues, each of one stone. Two of them were thirty cubits high, representing himself and his wife ; the other four were twenty cubits each, and represented his four sons. These he dedicated to Vulcan. He raised also two obelisks of marble, 120 cubits high, with inscriptions denoting the greatness of his power and revenues.

The captives taken by Sesostris are said to have been treated with the greatest barbarity ; so that, at last, they resolved, at all events, to deliver themselves from a servitude so intolerable. The Babylonians particularly were concerned in this revolt, and laid waste the country to some extent ; but, being offered a pardon, and a place to dwell in, they were pacified, and built for themselves a city, which they called Babylon. Towards the conquered princes who waited

* A similar remark occurs, 2 Chron. viii. 9, relative to the works of Solomon.

on him with their tribute, the Egyptian monarch behaved with unparalleled insolence. On certain occasions he is said to have unharnessed his horses, and yoking kings together, to have made them draw his chariot. One day, however, observing one of the kings who drew his chariot to look back upon the wheels with great earnestness, he asked what made him look so attentively at them. The unhappy prince replied : " O king, the going round of the wheel puts me in mind of the vicissitudes of fortune." This answer is said to have brought the insulting conqueror to his senses, so that he thenceforth treated his captives with great humanity. At length, having grown blind in his old age, he laid violent hands on himself, after having reigned thirty-three years.

Upon the whole, there seems as little room to doubt, on the one hand, that such a monarch really existed, as, on the other, that the actions of various individuals, heightened by fiction, are blended with his real history.

According to Josephus, Sethos *Ægyptus* (the first of the nineteenth dynasty) was succeeded by Rampses (Rapsaces, Rhameses), to whom succeeded the Amenophis in whose reign the Israelites departed from Egypt ; and after him reigned Rhameses Sethon. This last, distinguished as Rhameses the Great, is the monarch whose name occurs so frequently on almost every monument of the ancient style, written *Rēm̄ses*, *Ramses*, *Amon-mai Ramses*, &c. ; and it is this person whom M. Champollion determines, by a laborious investigation, to be the Sethosis of Manetho, the Se-soosis of Diodorus, and the Sesostris of Herodotus and Strabo. If this be ascertained, the era of this monarch will be fixed about 1300 B.C., during that interval in

which the lights of sacred and profane history alike fail us.

After the death of Sesostris, another chasm of indeterminate length occurs in the Egyptian history, concluding with the reign of a king Amasis or Ammosis (a name which repeatedly occurs in the Chronicle), who, on account of his tyranny, was deposed by his subjects, with the aid of Actisanes, a king of Ethiopia, or an adventurer of that nation, who seized the throne of Amasis. After another long interval, we meet with the name of Cetes, the Proteus of the Greeks,* who is said to have reigned in Egypt, when Paris, the son of Priam, having eloped with Helen, was driven by a storm on that coast. In all probability, he was not the sovereign of the country, but only a provincial governor. His son and successor is stated to have been Rhampsinitus, or Remphis, concerning whom Herodotus has a curious and improbable legend; and then, after another gap, occur the names of Cheops, Cephren, and Mycerinus, the impious builders of the pyramids. To them succeeded Gnephactus, a

* The priests reported that he was a magician, and that he could assume any shape he pleased, even that of fire. This fable, as told by the Greeks, has been supposed to derive its origin from the custom of adorning the heads of their kings with the representations of animals or vegetables, or even with burning incense;—a somewhat far-fetched conjecture. A more probable explanation is, that his dexterity in the art of deception and supposed enchantments, gave rise to the representation of his having power to change his form. From his dwelling upon the sea-shore, or perhaps from his encouraging commercial affairs, he was said to be a sea-god. In Manetho's Chronicle, the fourth monarch of the 23rd, or Tanite dynasty, is called Zet, which seems to be the same name as Cetes, although the assigned date (806 B.C.) does not correspond by a few hundred years. He was probably lord or governor of Tanis, (now called Jani and San,) on the eastern side of the Tanitic arm of the Nile, near its mouth.

sovereign of primitive simplicity of manners. His son, Bocchoris, or Nechus, is stated to have been a wise legislator and beneficent promoter of commerce ; but, in the midst of his plans for the happiness of his people, he was attacked and overcome by Sabacon, an Ethiopian prince, by whom he was inhumanly burned alive. Sabacon is supposed to have been the So (or Soos) who entered into a league with Hoshea, king of Israel, on his revolting from his liege lord, the Assyrian emperor.* Although he commenced his reign with an act of barbarous cruelty, he is highly extolled for the clemency and wisdom which he subsequently displayed. The Chronicles represent him as having been excited to invade Egypt by a dream or vision, in which he was assured that he should hold that kingdom fifty years. The priesthood, however, were never reconciled to his yoke ; and at the close of that period, he had another dream, in which the tutelar god of Thebes acquainted him that he could no longer maintain himself on the throne unless he destroyed all the priests. Abhorring to hold the kingdom on such terms, or fearful to hazard so desperate an experiment, he abdicated the throne, and retired to Ethiopia.

He was succeeded by a person of the sacerdotal order, a priest of Vulcan, named Sethon, who is said to have given himself up to religious contemplation, and not only to have neglected the military class, but to have deprived them of their lands. In consequence of this, they refused to serve him, and the kingdom was left defenceless, when Sennacherib, king of As-

* See 2 Kings, xvii. 4. Usher supposes Sous or Sua to have begun to reign about 715 B.C. The name of Sabacon is literally Saba-Khan or king Saba. If he reigned 50 years, he must have begun his reign much earlier.

syria, arrived before Pelusium with a mighty army. Being destitute of all human aid, it is said, he invoked the interposition of his god Vulcan, who appeared to him in a dream, and promised him a complete victory. Accordingly, at the head of an undisciplined body of artificers and labourers hastily collected, he marched towards Pelusium ; and the very night after his arrival, an innumerable multitude of rats, entering the enemy's camp, gnawed to pieces their quivers, bow-strings, and shield-straps. In the morning, Sethon found the enemy disarmed and beginning to flee, and he pursued them to a great distance, making a terrible slaughter. In memory of this extraordinary event, a statue of Sethon was erected in the temple of Vulcan, holding in one hand a rat, and with this inscription : " Let whosoever beholdeh me be pious."

The striking resemblance of this story to the account given in the Book of Kings,* of the miraculous destruction of Sennacherib's army in the reign of Hezekiah (B.C. 710), leaves little room for doubt that it is the same story somewhat disguised in the obscurer annals of Egypt. It appears from the scriptural narrative, that Tirhakah, King of Ethiopia, was at war with Sennacherib, and had come forth to meet him. The Assyrians had already advanced as far southward as the neighbourhood of Eleutheropolis, and were threatening Egypt. Their sudden and mysterious retreat, therefore, must have excited the greatest surprise ; and the priests would be at no loss to frame a legend in unison with the superstition of the country. Tirhakah was probably a king of Thebes,

* 2 Kings xix. Isa. xxxvii. The Babylonish Talmud ascribes their destruction to lightning ; but from Isa. xxxvii. 7, it has been supposed that the instrument employed was the asoom.

and he is evidently the Tarachus of Manetho, the next but one to Sabacon, and the third monarch of the twenty-fifth or Ethiopian dynasty. Sevechus, who is placed between them as the second of that race, may possibly be (as Usher conjectures) the Sethon of Herodotus : if so, their reigns were collateral, not successive. But it may be questioned whether Lower Egypt was at this time under any other government than that of a powerful hierarchy, of which Sethon might be the head. According to Diodorus, the abdication of Sabacon was immediately followed by the *dodecarchia* or government of twelve, into which Herodotus represents the kingdom of Egypt to have been divided on the death of Sethon. This interregnum is said to have lasted twelve years, at the close of which, Psammetichus, the son of the Nechus* whom Sabacon had dethroned, was raised to the throne of his father, about 679 B.C.

And now the history of Egypt begins to be divested of fable. Up to this time, Lower Egypt had been alternately in the hands of foreign conquerors, of Ethiopian or Theban princes, and of a native priesthood ; sometimes annexed to the Diospolitan kingdom, sometimes independent or detached from it ; sharing in this respect the usual fate of countries lying between more powerful neighbours. But whatever may have been the greatness and power attained by some of the Pharaohs of Heliopolis, Mizr, or Zoan, it is very clear, we think, that the monarchy was seldom long together in the hands of native princes,

* The word Nechus, like Pharaoh, is not a proper name, but an appellative. Hence, Bocchoris is also said to have borne this title, which signifies prince. The king of Abyssinia is styled the *Negus* to the present day. It is the *Nagud* of the Hebrews. See BRYANT's *Anal.*, vol. iv. p. 441.

and that the rival kingdoms of Thebes and Memphis were rarely united. Hence, the contradictions and confusion arising from the attempt to blend into one succession their contemporary annals. The Greeks, who were most directly in communication with Lower Egypt, have preserved the names and history of powerful monarchs of that country, which it has excited surprise not to find mentioned in the native annals of the Diospolitan sovereigns as given by Manetho. The omission of their names might indeed be accounted for in the same way as that of Mithridates and his immediate predecessors of the Parthian dynasty, which occasions a chasm of 200 years in the native annals of the Persian monarchy ; or that of several Jewish kings in the genealogical tables supposed to have been copied by St. Matthew. The public records being in the hands of the priests, the omission or erasure of the obnoxious names was dictated by national jealousy, or by a sort of retributive justice. But in the case of Cheops and his successors, it is probable that they belong to annals of the lower kingdom which have perished, and that they were contemporary with the twentieth and two following dynasties.*

* Cheops is supposed to have flourished 1032 years B.C., and Asychis is thought to have succeeded Mycerinus 815 B.C., an interval of 215 years, occupied by three reigns ! During this period, according to Manetho, there reigned three Tanite monarchs of the 21st dynasty, nine Bubastites of the 22d, and three Tanites of the 23d, ending with Psammus, the predecessor of Zet or Cetes. Probably, while Memphis was in the possession of Cheops and his successors, there might exist a petty dynasty at Tanis or Bubastis. The Proteus of Herodotus, however, was the predecessor of Cheops, who is the Chemmis of Diodorus. Supposing Proteus to have flourished about the time of the Trojan war, he must have been contemporary with Thuoris, the last of the 19th (Diospolitan) dynasty. The 20th dynasty of twelve Diospolitans is *anonymous*,

Psammetichus is enumerated by Manetho as the fifth sovereign of the Saite dynasty. He was probably lord of Sais, or that was the province which he held during the dodecarchy. He appears to have required the aid of foreign auxiliaries, either to place him on the throne or to maintain his pretensions ; and his reign was distinguished by an intercourse and amity with Greece. By calling in these foreigners, however, he is said to have so disgusted his own subjects, that upwards of 200,000 fighting men emigrated in a body to Ethiopia. Whether this emigration was altogether voluntary, seems very questionable : they might consist of the adherents of the eleven governors whom Psammetichus had deprived of their power, or they may have been Ethiopian aliens or heretics, whom it was deemed advisable to banish. However this may have been, the Egyptian monarch, in order to be more secure against invasion from his neighbours in Upper Egypt, or the dangers of intestine commotion, fixed his capital at Bubastis, on the Pelusian arm of the Nile, where he opened his ports to foreigners, and by encouraging commerce, greatly enriched the nation. He is said to have been the first prince who introduced the use of wine into Egypt ; and to him is ascribed the honour of having sent out the first expedition to discover the source of the Nile. He appears to have been of a pacific character : his only military enterprise was laying siege to Azotus in Palestine, which

extending from 1226 to 1101 B.C. ; to this succeeds the Tanite (21st), extending to 1006 ; and then comes the reign of Sesonchosis, or Shishak, the contemporary of Rehoboam, about 971 B.C. Upon the whole, Cheops may be supposed to have reigned at Memphis about 1030 B.C., and if so, he was the contemporary of Amenophis, King of Tanis, and David, King of Judah, as well as, probably, with some Diopolitan monarch of the 20th dynasty whose name is unknown.

held out for twenty-nine years against the whole force of his kingdom. He was succeeded (about B.C. 617) by his son Necho, the Pharaoh Necho of Scripture.

Nechus II. was a prince of an enterprising and warlike genius. He prosecuted with vigour the system of navigation which had been begun by his predecessors, and, by the assistance of Phenician sailors, not only investigated the coasts of the Mediterranean, but fitted out a fleet in the Red Sea, which doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Egypt through the Straits of Gibraltar. This voyage, the first of the kind ever accomplished, occupied the Egyptian fleet three years.* Necho attempted also to cut through the Isthmus of Suez; but, after expending much money, and sacrificing 12,000 men in the undertaking, he was compelled to abandon the project as impracticable. The most remarkable war in which this monarch was engaged, is that which is referred to in the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah. He made war upon the King of Assyria, as he told King Josiah, by Divine command. The latter, however, being in alliance with Assyria, refused to let the Egyptian monarch pass through his kingdom; a battle consequently ensued in the valley of Megiddo, in which the King of Judah was mortally wounded. Necho then marched to the banks of the Euphrates, took the great city of Carchemish, and leaving a garrison there, returned to Jerusalem. Here he deposed

* "Notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary, there is no reason to doubt the authority of Herodotus, who mentions this navigation; for, in those early times, the Phenicians sailed to Britain for tin; Hanno established colonies on the western coast of Africa; Scylax came from the Indus to the Red Sea; Nearchus passed from the Indus to the Euphrates; and the fleets of Solomon made long voyages in search of gold and precious merchandize."—BROWNE'S *Encyclop.*, art. Egypt.

Jehoahaz, who had assumed the royal dignity upon the death of his father, and sent him in chains to Egypt; while his brother Eliakim was raised by the conqueror to a tributary government under the name of Jehoiakim. In the mean time, however, the Babylonian conqueror, having made himself master of Assyria, retook Carchemish, and proceeded to deprive Nechus of his other conquests. The Egyptian monarch ventured to dispute the field, but was overthrown with great slaughter, and Nebuchadnezzar overran the whole country to the very gates of Pelusium. After a reign of sixteen years, this active and accomplished prince terminated his career about 600 years B.C. He was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned only six years, and left nothing for the historian to record.

The next sovereign, Apries or Vaphres, is the Pharaoh Hophra of the Old Testament. He appears to have been active and warlike, and, in the beginning of his reign, was fortunate. He took by storm the rich city of Sidon, and having overcome the Phenicians in a sea-fight, returned to Egypt, laden with spoil. This success probably incited Zedekiah, king of Judea, to enter into an alliance with him against Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The Jews had been admonished by the prophet Jeremiah to put no trust in a confederacy with Egypt, and their infatuation in disregarding the Divine warning was awfully punished.* The king of Babylon invested Jerusalem with a powerful army; and though Apries marched to their relief, he soon retreated before the enemy, leaving the Jews exposed to the rage of the merciless victor, by whom they were treated as Jeremiah had foretold.

* Jer. xlvi. 7-18; xlill. 8-13.

By this step, Apries brought upon himself the vengeance denounced by the same prophet. Soon after, the Cyreneans, a Grecian colony, under their third king Battus, having made war upon their Libyan neighbours, the king of Libya implored the succour of Apries, who marched to his relief; but the Egyptians and Libyans were defeated with great slaughter. The army of Apries complained, that they were sent to Libya only to be destroyed. A rebellion among his discontented subjects was the result; and the envoy, Amasis, whom Apries sent to quell the insurrection, proved a traitor, and was declared king in his room. A civil war ensued. Apries collected an army of Ionians, Carians, and other mercenaries, about 30,000 men, at the head of which he advanced with confidence to punish the usurper; but, in a sanguinary engagement near Memphis, he was defeated and taken prisoner. For some time, Amasis treated his captive with respect and indulgence; but the Egyptians, instigated, probably, by their priests, demanded that he should be delivered into their hands. Thus the prediction of Jeremiah received its full accomplishment. Apries was delivered to those who sought his life,* and who no sooner had him in their power, than they strangled him, and laid his body in the sepulchre of his ancestors. During these intestine commotions, the king of Babylon made inroads into Egypt, but contented himself with plundering the open country.

The reign of Amasis is celebrated as the happiest period in the Egyptian annals, and the kingdom is stated to have contained at this period no fewer than 20,000 populous towns. This monarch was the author of the remarkable ordinance which enjoined every

* Jer. xliv. 30; xlvi. 2-26.

inhabitant, on pain of death, to give in his name to the provincial governor once a year, stating by what means he obtained his livelihood. Amasis was a great favourer of the Greeks, his queen being a native of Cyrene, and of Grecian descent. He invited traders of that nation to come to Egypt, and to settle at Nau-cratis, where he allowed them to erect temples to their own deities. In his reign, Pythagoras came into Egypt, and under the patronage of Amasis, was initiated into all the sacred mysteries and symbolical learning of the country. This monarch is stated also to have received a visit from Solon, the celebrated Athenian legislator. He was the only king of Egypt who succeeded in subduing Cyrus, and making it tributary. But the close of his reign was overshadowed by the cloud which burst with overwhelming fury on his successor. Phanes of Halicarnassus, commander of the Grecian auxiliaries in the pay of Amasis, having taken some private disgust, fled to the court of Cambyses, the Persian emperor, to whom he tendered his services in the invasion of Egypt. At the same time, Polycrates, the lord of Samos, renouncing his alliance with Amasis, offered to assist the Persian with his fleet. The real cause, both of the hostility of Cambyses, and the desertion of Amasis by his allies, is very uncertain.* He did not live, however, to see the calamities of his country, but died, after a reign of forty-four years (B.C. 525), while the Persians were approaching the frontier.

Scarcely had Psammenitus seated himself on the

* Rollin suggests, that Egypt had probably, as Xenophon intimates in the beginning of his *Cyropaedia*, acknowledged the supremacy of Cyrus; that Amasis had shaken off the yoke; and that, therefore, one of the first cares of Cambyses, after he had ascended the throne, was to carry his arms into Egypt.

throne of his father, than Cambyses appeared before Pelusium, of which he is said to have gained possession by the following stratagem. Taking advantage of the Egyptian superstition, he placed in front of his army, a great number of cats, dogs, and other animals held sacred by the besieged, who were deterred from making any defence, lest they should commit a sacrilegious injury on some of the holy animals ; and thus the Persians entered the city without resistance. The army of Psammenitus, on advancing to repel the invader, was routed with great slaughter ; Memphis was taken shortly after ; and the whole country, with the adjacent dependencies, readily submitted to the ruthless conqueror. Not content with their submission, he satiated his revenge by the massacre, in cold blood, of the son of Psammenitus, with 2000 Egyptians of the best families. The life of Psammenitus himself was spared for some time, from a very doubtful clemency ; but a pretence was soon found for putting him to death. The body of Amasis was disinterred, and after being shamefully mangled, was burned. With such studied insult and refined cruelty did the conqueror trample on all the prejudices, and outrage the feelings of the nation he had reduced to slavery. The immediate occasion of his wrath against the priests, is said to have been this. He had despatched an army from Thebes to seize upon the temple of Jupiter Ammon in the Oasis, but lost nearly half his army in attempting to traverse the desert. On his return to Memphis, he found the priests engaged in celebrating a religious festival, which he imputed to their joy at his defeat ; and, irritated to madness, he put the magistrates to death, scourged the priests of Apis, and slew the animated idol they were worshipping. Soon after, an insurrection in Persia recalled the tyrant to his own

dominions, and assassination or accidental death terminated his cruelties and his life.*

During the continuance of the Persian monarchy, the Egyptians made repeated efforts to throw off the hated yoke, but always without success. On the overthrow of that empire, Alexander the Great was received by the Egyptians with open arms as a deliverer, rather than a conqueror. His vanity led him to visit the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, where the artful priests declared him to be the son of that deity. Before he left Egypt, he is said to have founded the city called after his name. On the premature death of this mighty conqueror, Egypt and Libya were entrusted to the government of Ptolemy Lagus, who for nineteen years contented himself with the title of a viceroy; but at length, on the final division of the Macedonian empire, he assumed the sovereign authority with the name of *Soter*. Having added to his dominions Palestine, Syria, and Phenicia, he proceeded to take possession of Cyprus, but received a check from the arms of Antigonus, who, entering his dominions from Babylon, captured Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza. After a long struggle, Antigonus was slain in battle, and his son Demetrius was taken prisoner, and died a captive. Ptolemy Soter is celebrated as a skilful and intrepid general, a munificent patron of learning, and a model to his successors for justice and clemency. He founded at Alexandria a college or museum, which attracted learned men from all quarters. Among these was Demetrius Phalerius, the ex-governor of Athens, to whom he committed the custody and superintendence of the royal library.

* Psammenitus was the last *native* sovereign of Egypt, and the prophecy of Ezekiel has been wonderfully fulfilled (ch. xxx. 13), that "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt."

Besides embellishing his capital with the splendid buildings of the Museum, Ptolemy erected a magnificent temple for Serapis, and constructed the famous Pharos. He composed a life of Alexander, which has unhappily been lost: from comments and references still extant, it appears to have been elegantly written. He closed an illustrious reign in the 84th year of his age, about 284 years before the Christian era, and was succeeded by his second son, Ptolemy Philadelphus.

The reign of the second Ptolemy was disturbed by civil and domestic troubles, the details of which claim no place in this brief outline, but, upon the whole, was fortunate. His court was the seat of learning and politeness. He embellished still further the new capital, and founded other cities; completed the canal of Suez, which his father had begun; and watered the deserts of Libya by canals and reservoirs. The most remarkable circumstance in his reign was, the close alliance which he formed with the Romans. He died at an advanced age, 246 B.C., having survived but a few months his queen Arsinoë.

His son and successor, Ptolemy III., surnamed *Euergetes* (the Beneficent), extended still further the glory of the Egyptian arms. In the beginning of his reign, he found himself involved in a war with Antiochus, king of Syria, in which he was completely victorious. After receiving the submission of the Syrians, he crossed the Euphrates, and pursued his conquests as far as Bactria, recovering many of the statues, idols, and other treasures which had been carried off by Cambyses. On returning from this expedition, he visited Jeruealem, which was then tributary to Egypt, and offered up sacrifices to the God of Israel, expressing a great regard for the Jewish nation. By sea, he was equally successful, extending his conquests

on both sides of the Red Sea as far as the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb ; and he had thus raised the Egyptian monarchy to its greatest splendour, when he expired in the 27th year of his reign,* and was succeeded (B.C. 221) by his son Ptolemy Philopater.

The fourth Ptolemy was a feeble-minded and licentious tyrant. He began his inglorious reign by the murder of his brother Magas ; and he either authorised or connived at that of his mother Berenice and his noble-minded queen. During an expedition into Syria, he visited Jerusalem, and attempted by force to penetrate into the most holy place. On being prevented, he became frantic with rage, and thenceforth vowed vengeance on the Jewish nation. In the history of the Maccabees, there is a most remarkable story of his ordering a general massacre of the Alexandrian Jews in the hippodrome, which was prevented only by a signal interposition of Divine Providence. This execrable despot sank at last under a ruined constitution, in the 37th year of his age, leaving an infant son.

During the minority of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the Egyptian monarchy was preserved from dismemberment and ruin by the vigorous measures of the Roman general M. Æmilius Lepidus. After the young king had assumed the reins of government, his reign was a series of disasters, and he was at length taken off by poison. Another minority ensued, during which

* It was the queen of this monarch whose hair had the honour of being translated to the firmament. During one of his expeditions, she had vowed, in case of his safe return, to consecrate her hair as a votive offering in the temple of Zephyrium. The sacrifice was made, but, through some accident, this precious memorial of conjugal affection was lost, and the priests trembled for the consequences, when Conon, the celebrated mathematician of Samos, delivered them from their fears, by discovering the tresses of Berenice in the seven stars of the tail of Leo.

Cleopatra, the queen mother, conducted the administration of affairs with singular firmness and ability. On her death, the young king, Ptolemy Philometer, succeeded to the throne. The commencement of his reign was unfortunate. He was taken prisoner by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; and his younger brother, Euergetes II., surnamed Physcon for his corpulence or his gluttony, was raised to the vacant throne. Antiochus, on this, gave Ptolemy Philometer his liberty, which led to a temporary division of the Egyptian kingdom between the two brothers, followed by altercations and a civil war, occasioned by the baseness and treachery of Physcon. He was at length defeated and pardoned by his more noble-minded brother, whom he unhappily survived and succeeded. The subsequent reign of this monster is a series of almost incredible enormities and cruelties. To secure the throne, he married his brother's widow, and on the same day, murdered her son in her arms. He afterwards divorced her, and married her daughter. He put to death numbers of his subjects on slight pretences, and behaved with especial barbarity towards the Jews. At length, he became so odious to all parties, that he was compelled to take refuge in the Island of Cyprus, where he added to his atrocities the murder of his son. Yet, he was eventually restored to his throne, and died at Alexandria in the 67th year of his age.

The reign of Ptolemy Lathyrus, which began about 122 B.C., witnessed the renewal of the domestic contests which were now become so familiar to the Alexandrians; and it was not till his mother had been assassinated by his brother Alexander, and the paricide slain in the civil contest that ensued, that Lathyrus was able to establish himself on the throne. He

then turned his arms against the people of Thebes, who had revolted from him ; and after a siege of three years, succeeded in taking that city, hitherto one of the most wealthy in Egypt: it was given up to be plundered by the soldiery, and from this period never recovered its importance.* During these disturbances, Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the illegitimate son of Ptolemy Physcon, having maintained peace and tranquillity in his dominions during a reign of twenty-one years, died, and bequeathed by will his kingdom to the Romans. The kingdom of Bithynia had likewise been made over to them in the same manner by Nicomedes ; and this novel way of disposing of territories with their inhabitants, was adopted in a third instance, by Alexander II., the successor of Ptolemy Lathyrus, when he found himself deprived of his throne by a general insurrection in consequence of his execrable wickedness. But the validity of the will under these circumstances appearing questionable to the Roman Senate, and other prudential reasons being urged by Cicero for declining the bequest, they forbore, in this case, to take possession of the important legacy. The mere shadow of sovereignty, however, survived in the effeminate Ptolemy X., surnamed *Auletes*, the flute-player, who was the creature and tributary of the Romans ; and the rapacious exactions which were rendered necessary in order to raise money sufficient to bribe the leading senators of Rome, together with his cession of Cyprus to the Republic, produced a rebellion which drove him from the throne. For some years, *Auletes* remained at Rome, a fugitive and a suppliant. He was eventually restored by Mark

* Thus strikingly was the prediction verified by this series of civil contests : " I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians . . . city against city, and nome against nome." — Isa. xix. 2.

Antony, not without much bloodshed; and at his death, left his children under the care and tuition of the Romans.

As soon as Ptolemy XI. (Dionysius) was deemed of an age that qualified him to reign, he was admitted to the throne, his sister Cleopatra being associated with him in the government. This union, however, was of short continuance, and both having their partizans, a civil war ensued. Matters were in this state when Pompey, fleeing from his victorious rival after the battle of Pharsalia, sought an asylum in Egypt, and was basely and ungratefully murdered by the counsellors of the young monarch whose father he had been chiefly instrumental in restoring to his kingdom. Cæsar followed him to Alexandria, and wept, it is said, when the head of his enemy was presented to him. Aware what influence her personal charms might have upon the Roman general who had become the arbiter of her claims, Cleopatra, hastening back from Syria, lost no time in obtaining a secret interview with Cæsar. To conciliate all parties, the Romans passed a decree, that Ptolemy Dionysius and Cleopatra should jointly reign. This arrangement, however, was far from contenting the Egyptians. An attempt was made to blockade the harbour of Alexandria, in order to cut off the Roman supplies, which was frustrated by burning the Egyptian fleet; and the flames communicating to that part of the city in which the Museum was situated, its invaluable library perished. Ptolemy, in the conflict which ensued, was taken prisoner, and for some time held in bondage, by Cæsar: on recovering his liberty, he violated every engagement, and perished shortly afterwards while crossing a branch of the Nile. Ptolemy XII., his younger brother, was then nominally associated with

Queen Cleopatra in the government ; but his days were shortened by poison, and that accomplished, abandoned sorceress remained the mistress of Egypt and of Cæsar. The sequel is too familiarly known to require recital. The death of Cæsar, the fall of Mark Antony, deprived her at once of every lover or ally, and she perished by her own hand, to escape being dragged to Rome in the train of the conqueror. Thus closed the dynasty of the Ptolemies, after it had lasted about 294 years, and Egypt was converted into a Roman province.

It will only be necessary to enumerate a few of the leading events which relieve the uniformity of the Egyptian annals, during the time that the country was governed by Roman prefects. Cornelius Gallus, the first governor, was disgraced for extortionate and oppressive conduct, and committed suicide. Under the prefecture of *Ælius Gallus*, an attempt was made to reduce the Arabian peninsula. The Roman legions penetrated to Mareb, the Sabæan capital ; but disease soon began to thin their ranks, and only a remnant returned to Egypt from this successful yet fatal and unproductive expedition.* During the absence of the prefect, Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, invaded Upper Egypt, and took several cities ; but they were speedily recovered. In A.D. 117, the Emperor Adrian visited this province of his dominions, and remained there for two years, during which he enlarged the Alexandrian museum, rebuilt or embellished many of the public edifices, and restored to the citizens many of the privileges of which, owing to their seditious conduct, they had been deprived. Egypt was also visited by the Emperor Severus, who repaired many of the na-

* See Mod. Trav., Arabia, p. 35.

tional monuments ; but his son Caracalla treated the *Alexandrians*, who had incurred his displeasure, with great cruelty ; and during several successive reigns, the nation was agitated by contending factions and religious persecution. Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, claimed the throne of Egypt as a descendant of the Ptolemies ; and at one period, the Queen of the East was in possession of the kingdom of Cleopatra. But her empire passed away like a brilliant meteor,* nor did this second Cleopatra disdain to live on the terms of captivity.

“ When the Emperor Probus commanded in Egypt, he executed many considerable works for the splendour and benefit of the country. The navigation of the Nile, so important to Rome itself, was improved ; and temples, bridges, porticoes, and palaces, were constructed by the hands of his soldiers, who acted by turns as architects, as engineers, and as husbandmen.”† On the division of the empire by Diocletian, Thrace, Egypt, and the rich provinces of Asia were reserved for his peculiar portion. Egypt was at this period in a very distracted state. Achilleus at Alexandria, and the Blemmyes, a savage race of Ethiopians, in Upper Egypt, defied the Roman arms. Diocletian opened his Egyptian campaign (A.D. 296) with the siege of Alexandria. He cut off the aqueducts which conveyed the waters of the Nile into every quarter of that immense city, and pushed his reiterated attacks with so much caution and vigour, that, at the end of eight months, the besieged submitted to the discretion of the conqueror. They were doomed, however, to experience the full extent of his

* See Mod. Trav., Syria, vol. ii. p. 25, &c.

† Gibbon, chap. vi.

severity. "Many thousands of the citizens perished in a promiscuous slaughter, and there were few obnoxious persons in Egypt who escaped a sentence of death, or at least of exile. The fate of Busiris and of Coptos was still more melancholy than that of Alexandria: those proud cities, the former distinguished by its antiquity, the latter enriched by the passage of the Indian trade, were utterly destroyed by the arms and by the severe order of Diocletian." Eusebius, however, as Gibbon remarks, places their destruction several years earlier, and at a time when Egypt itself was in a state of rebellion against the Romans. With a view of opposing to the Blemmyes a suitable adversary, Diocletian is stated moreover to have "persuaded the *Nabotæ*, or Nubians, to remove from their ancient habitations in the deserts of Libya, and resigned to them an extensive but unprofitable territory above Syene, with the stipulation that they should ever respect and guard the frontier of the empire. The treaty long subsisted; and till the establishment of Christianity introduced stricter notions of religious worship, it was annually ratified by a solemn sacrifice in the Isle of Elephantine, in which the Romans, as well as the barbarians, adored the same visible or invisible powers of the universe. At the same time that Diocletian chastised the past crimes of the Egyptians, he provided for their future safety and happiness by many wise regulations, which were confirmed and enforced under the succeeding reigns." *

Of the introduction and progress of Christianity in Egypt in the first ages, we have no satisfactory account. The pen of an enemy has supplied the follow-

* Gibbon, ch. xlii. The last sentence betrays, perhaps, the partiality of the historian.

ing imperfect outline. “ The extensive commerce of Alexandria, and its proximity to Palestine, gave an easy entrance to the new religion.* It was first embraced by great numbers of the *Therapeuta*æ, or Essenes of the lake Mareotis ; a Jewish sect which had abated much of its reverence for the Mosaic ceremonies. The austere life of the Essenes, their fasts and excommunications, the community of goods, the love of celibacy, their zeal for martyrdom, and the warmth though not the purity of their faith, already offered a very lively image of the primitive discipline. It was in the school of Alexandria that the Christian Theology appears to have assumed a regular and scientifical form ; and when Hadrian visited Egypt, he found a church composed of Jews and of Greeks, sufficiently important to attract the notice of that inquisitive prince. But the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony ; and till the close of the second century, the predecessors of Demetrius were the only prelates of the Egyptian church. Three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heraclas. The body of the natives, a people distinguished by a sullen inflexibility of temper, entertained the new doctrine with coldness and resistance ; and even in the time of Origen, it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favour of the sacred animals of his country. As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians

* In point of fact, the knowledge of the Christian doctrine must have been conveyed to Egypt at its earliest promulgation, by the Jews and proselytes of Egypt, Libya, and Cyrene, who attended the feast of Pentecost.—See Acts, ii. 10.

obeyed the prevailing impulsion ; the cities of Egypt were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits." *

" Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afforded the first example of the monastic life. Antony, an illiterate youth of the lower parts of Thebais, distributed his patrimony, deserted his family and native home, and executed his monastic penance with original and intrepid fanaticism. After a long and painful noviciate among the tombs and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the desert, three days' journey eastward of the Nile, discovered a lonely spot which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on Mount Colzim, near the Red Sea, where an ancient monastery still preserves the name and memory of the saint. The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the desert, and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved ; and the Egyptian peasant respectfully declined a respectful invitation from the Emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of 105 years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the south of Alexandria, the mountain and adjacent desert of Nitria were peopled by 5000 anachorets ; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monasteries, which were

* Gibbon, ch. xv.

planted in that barren soil by the disciples of Antony.* In the Upper Thebais, the vacant island of Tabenne was occupied by Pachomius, and 1400 of his brethren. That holy abbot founded successively nine monasteries of men, and one of women ; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected 50,000 religious persons, who followed his *angelic* rule of discipline. The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the seat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses ; and the bishop who might preach in twelve churches, computed 10,000 females and 20,000 males of the monastic profession. The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people ; and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, ‘ That, in Egypt, it was less difficult to find a god than a man.’

‘ Athanasius introduced into Rome the knowledge and practice of the monastic life ; and a school of this new philosophy was opened by the disciples of Antony, who accompanied their primate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The strange and savage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses ; and the narrow institution of six vestals, was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were seated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the

Roman forum. Inflamed by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth, whose name was Hilarion, fixed his dreary abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The austere penance in which he persisted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm ; and the holy man was followed by a train of 2 or 3000 anachorets, whenever he visited the innumerable monasteries of Palestine. The fame of Basil is immortal in the monastic annals of the East. With a mind that had tasted the learning and eloquence of Athens, with an ambition scarcely to be satisfied with the archbishopric of Cæsarea, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus, and deigned, for a while, to give laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black Sea. In the West, Martin of Tours, a soldier, a hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the monasteries of Gaul. Two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave ; and his eloquent historian challenges the deserts of Thebais to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid, or universal, than that of Christianity itself. Every province and, at last, every city of the empire, was filled with their increasing multitudes ; and the bleak and barren isles, from Lerins to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan Sea, were chosen by the anachorets for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world ; and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally settle in the island of Cyprus. The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, eagerly

copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic, over the Christian empire of Ethiopia. The monastery of Banchor, in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the Barbarians of Ireland ; and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern regions a doubtful ray of science and superstition.

“ The monks were divided into two classes : the Cœnobites, who lived under a common and regular discipline ; and the Anachorets, who indulged their unsocial, independent fanaticism. The most devout, or the most ambitious of the spiritual brethren renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were surrounded by a *Laura*, a distant circle of solitary cells ; and the extravagant penance of the hermits was stimulated by applause and emulation. They sank under the painful weight of crosses and chains ; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves of massy and rigid iron. All superfluous incumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away ; and some savage saints of both sexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals ; and a numerous sect of Anachorets derived their name (*Βοσκοι*) from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd.* They often usurped

* Among further particulars given by Gibbon as to the lives of the primitive monks, it is stated, that “ the monastic slave might

the den of some wild beast, whom they affected to resemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance. The most perfect hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without sleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the man (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell, or seat, of a peculiar construction, which might expose him, in the most inconvenient posture, to the inclemency of the seasons.”*

The Church of Alexandria occupies a melancholy prominence in the history of the Christian Church, as the fountain-head of those metaphysical subtleties by which the simplicity of the Gospel was so soon corrupted, and the scene of that bitter and disgraceful contest which was so long carried on between the partizans of Arius† and Athanasius. Gibbon represents the learned Jews of Alexandria as attempting to blend the Mosaic faith with the Platonic philosophy, and a spurious Christianity was the natural result of the same false science and disputatious spirit. No sooner had the edict of toleration restored peace and leisure to the Christians, than the Trinitarian controversy was revived in “the ancient seat of Platonism, the learned, the opulent, the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious discord was rapidly

not, except in the presence of his superiors, receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious if he afflicted a tender sister or an aged parent by the obstinate refusal of a word or look.” An Egyptian monk, named Pior, allowed his sister to see him, but he shut his eyes during the whole visit.

* Gibbon, ch. xxxvii.

† Arianism is supposed to have “burst out” about A.D. 319.

communicated from the schools to the clergy, the people, the province, and the East."....." The pride of Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers, two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and 700 virgins. A large majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support or to favour his cause. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed to synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years, was referred to the supreme authority of the general council of Nice." The banishment of Arius and the condemnation of his writings, by that council; his honourable recal, three years after, and the disgrace of Athanasius; the singularly eventful life of that prelate, who, five times successively, was expelled from the archiepiscopal throne, passed twenty years as an exile or a fugitive, was alternately the favourite and the antagonist of emperors, and closed " in peace and in glory," at Alexandria, a reign of forty-seven years;—the unprincipled tyranny* and merited death of his rival, St. George; and the disorders or massacres which the Alexandrians were doomed to suffer or to witness, as the heathen, the Arian, or the Catholic faction alter-

*" The choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Anastasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and ~~avarice~~. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax which he suggested on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil."—GIBBON, ch. xxiii.

nately obtained the ascendancy ; these events, though they might claim a distinct record in a history of Alexandria, can only be thus slightly adverted to in the present rapid outline. More than once, the wild deserts of Thebais and Libya afforded a secure retreat to the fugitive primate who occupied, under another title, the throne of the Ptolemies. The death of Athanasius (A.D. 373) was the signal of a fresh persecution, for which the historian thus apologises. "The Emperor (Valens) had observed that several of his subjects, gratifying their lazy disposition under the pretence of religion, had associated themselves with the monks of Egypt ; and he directed the Count of the East to drag them from their solitude, and to compel those deserters of society to accept the fair alternative of renouncing their temporal possessions, or of discharging the public duties of men and citizens. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, consisting of 3000 men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent desert of Nitria, which was peopled by 5000 monks. The soldiers were conducted by Arian priests ; and it is reported, that a considerable slaughter was made in the monasteries which disobeyed the command of their sovereign."*

The final suppression of Paganism, and the destruction of the temples, in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, was attended at Alexandria by a tumultuous ebullition of popular zeal and fanaticism ; and the circumstances which attended the demolition of the temple of Serapis, deserve insertion as illustrating the topography, as well as the history of the capital of Christian Egypt.

"Serapis," says Gibbon, "does not appear to have

* Gibbon, ch. xxv.

been one of the native gods, or monsters, who sprang from the fruitful soil of superstitious Egypt. The first of the Ptolemies had been commanded, by a dream, to import the mysterious stranger from the coast of Pontus, where he had been long adored by the inhabitants of Sinope; but his attributes and his reign were so imperfectly understood, that it became a subject of dispute, whether he represented the bright orb of day, or the gloomy monarch of the subterranean regions.* Alexandria, which claimed his peculiar protection, gloried in the name of the city of Serapis. His temple, which rivalled the pride and magnificence of the Capitol, was erected on the spacious summit of an artificial mount, raised one hundred steps above the level of the adjacent parts of the city; and the interior cavity was strongly supported by arches, and distributed into vaults and subterranean apartments. The consecrated buildings were surrounded with a

* The Egyptians are said to have refused at first to admit this foreign deity within the walls of their cities; a circumstance difficult to be accounted for, or credited, considering the apparent affinity of the god to Apis. Plutarch identifies Serapis with Osiris; and at Rome, Isis and Serapis were united in the same temple. Their worship was with difficulty introduced into that capital. In A.R. 701, the temple of Isis and Serapis was destroyed by order of the senate, but was restored, after the death of Cæsar, at the public expense. The worship of the Egyptian gods was very "fashionable" in the reign of Augustus, although laid under local restrictions, and was finally established under the Flavian dynasty. Is it not probable that the opposition to the worship of Serapis arose from the nature of his rites, rather than from any objection to him as a foreign deity? The name of Serapis is probably Egyptian, and was conferred by Ptolemy Soter on the idol of Sinope, which is said to have been an image of Pluto, accompanied by Cerberus and a dragon. The word has been variously understood, as implying "the feast of Apis," "the lord Apis," the "tomb of Apis." May it not be the son of Apis, *Ser* being a contraction of *Shari*? See *Ency. Brit. Supp.*, art. *Egypt*. BRYANT's *Anal.*, vol. iii. p. 301. GIBRON, c. xxxvi. notes.

quadrangular portico ; the stately halls and exquisite statues displayed the triumph of the arts ; and the treasures of ancient learning were preserved in the famous Alexandrian library which had arisen with new splendour from its ashes.* After the edicts of Theodosius had severely prohibited the sacrifices of the Pagans, they were still tolerated in the city and temple of Serapis ; and this singular indulgence was imprudently ascribed to the superstitious terrors of the Christians themselves : as if they had feared to abolish those ancient rites which could alone secure the inundations of the Nile, the harvest of Egypt, and the subsistence of Constantinople.†

“ At that time (A.D. 390), the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria was filled by Theophilus, a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood. His pious indignation was excited by the honours of Serapis ; and the insults which he offered to an ancient chapel of Bacchus, convinced the Pagans that he meditated a more important and dangerous enterprise. In the tumultuous capital of Egypt, the slightest provocation was sufficient to inflame a civil war. The votaries of Serapis, whose strength and numbers were much inferior to those of their antagonists, rose in arms at the instigation of their philosopher Olympius, who exhorted them to die in the defence of the altars of their gods. These Pagan fanatics fortified themselves in the temple, or rather fortress, of Serapis ; repelled the besiegers by daring sallies and a desperate defence ; and, by the

* See page 98. Mark Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamos (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria.

† This “imprudent” calumny originated, as Gibbon admits in a note, with a pagan apologist.

inhuman cruelties which they exercised on their Christian prisoners, obtained the last consolation of despair. The efforts of the prudent magistrate were usefully exerted for the establishment of a truce, till the answer of Theodosius should determine the fate of Serapis. The two parties assembled, without arms, in the principal square ; and the imperial rescript was publicly read. But, when a sentence of destruction against the idols of Alexandria was pronounced, the Christians set up a shout of joy and exultation, while the unfortunate Pagans, whose fury had given way to consternation, retired with hasty and silent steps, and eluded, by their flight or obscurity, the resentment of their enemies. Theophilus proceeded to demolish the temple of Serapis without any other difficulties than those which he found in the weight and solidity of the materials ; but these obstacles proved so insuperable, that he was obliged to leave the foundations, and to content himself with reducing the edifice itself to a heap of ruins ; a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away to make room for a church erected in honour of the Christian martyrs. The valuable library of Alexandria was pillaged or destroyed ; and nearly twenty years afterwards, the appearance of the empty shelves excited the regret and indignation of every spectator whose mind was not totally darkened by religious prejudice. While the images and vases of gold and silver were carefully melted, and those of a less valuable metal were contemptuously broken and cast into the streets, Theophilus laboured to expose the frauds and vices of the ministers of the idols ; their dexterity in the management of the loadstone ; their secret methods of introducing a human actor into a hollow statue ; and their scandalous abuse of the confidence of unsuspecting females....The colossal

statue of Serapis was involved in the ruin of his temple and religion. A great number of plates of different metals artificially joined together, composed the majestic figure of the deity, who touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. The aspect of Serapis, his sitting posture, and the sceptre which he bore in his left hand, were extremely similar to the ordinary representations of Jupiter. He was distinguished from Jupiter by the basket, or bushel, which was placed on his head, and by the emblematic monster which he held in his right hand ; the head and body of a serpent branching into three tails, which were again terminated by the triple heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf..... The huge idol was overthrown and broken in pieces, and the limbs of Serapis were ignominiously dragged through the streets of Alexandria. His mangled carcase was burned (melted ?) in the amphitheatre amid the shouts of the populace ; and many persons attributed their conversion to this discovery of the impotence of their tutelar deity." *

Theophilus, the bitter enemy of Chrysostom, his greater rival, was succeeded on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt, A.D. 412, by his nephew Cyril,

* Gibbon, ch. xxviii. This description of the idol seems to confirm the identity of Serapis with Pluto; but in fact, it was only the representation of Pluto accommodated to Egyptian ideas. The bushel, the measure of plenty, had probably a reference to the Nilometer, and the triple-headed dragon was the Nile with its three principal arms or mouths. This view of the subject is strikingly confirmed by the ancient medals described by the ingenious Editor of Calmet's Dictionary. One of these (No. 20) exhibits a large serpent having the head of Serapis, crowned with the *modius*, and from each side of the serpent projects an ear of corn. Another medal (No. 28) has a figure of Serapis, standing, attended by a sphinx, with the inscription *Zeus Serapis*; and No. 29 has a similar figure, unattended, inscribed *Helios Serapis*. No. 25 exhibits him seated, and attended by Cerberus, as Pluto. In coins of Antæopolis, Libya,

whose polemic fame has procured for him the doubtful honours of canonization. Cyril had passed five years of his youth in the desert of Nitria ; but his aspiring mind led him readily to obey the invitation of his uncle, who summoned him to the tumult of cities and synods. The state of Egypt at his accession to the primacy, is thus described by Gibbon. " At a distance from the court, and at the head of an immense capital, the patriarch (as he was now styled) of Alexandria had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of the city were managed by his discretion ; his voice inflamed or appeased the passions of the multitude ; his commands were blindly obeyed by his numerous and fanatic *parabolani*, familiarized in their daily office with scenes of death ; and the prefects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these Christian pontiffs. Ardent in the prosecution of heresy, Cyril auspiciously opened his reign by oppressing the Novatians, the most innocent and harmless of the sectaries. The interdiction of their religious worship appeared in his eyes a just and meritorious act ; and he confiscated their holy vessels without apprehending the guilt of sacrilege. The toleration and even the privileges of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of 40,000, were secured by the laws of the Cæsars and Ptolemies, and a long prescription of 700 years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led

Mendes, and Letopolis, the figure of Serapis is introduced, holding a goat, a crocodile, or some other emblem relating probably to the particular city. The triple head, of a dog, a lion, and a wolf, may have some connexion with the three cities, Cynopolis, Leontopolis, and Lycopolis.

a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance ; their houses of prayer were levelled with the ground, and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving nation. Perhaps he might plead the insolence of their prosperity, and their deadly hatred of the Christians, whose blood they had recently shed in a malicious or accidental tumult. Such crimes would have deserved the animadversion of the magistrate ; but, in this pro-~~per~~secutive outrage, the innocent were confounded with the guilty, and Alexandria was impoverished by the loss of a wealthy and industrious colony."*

The episcopal warfare between the rival patriarchs of Alexandria and Byzantium, which had been begun by the inveterate enemy of Chrysostom, was renewed by the opponent of Nestorius ; and " the successor of Athanasius consulted his pride and ambition, when he rose in arms against another Arius, more formidable and more guilty, on the second throne of the hierarchy. Ephesus was the scene of a scandalous and nefarious contest between the Syrian and Egyptian factions, by whom Nestorius and Cyril were in turn anathematized and degraded. The Emperor Theodosius at

* Gibbon, ch. xlvi. Orestes, the prefect, it is added, ventured to complain of this illegal outrage, in consequence of which his chariot was attacked by a band of 500 Nitrian monks, and he was only rescued by the loyal citizens of Alexandria. The monk who wounded him, was apprehended and executed ; but, at the command of Cyril, the tomb of the assassin was adorned with the honours of martyrdom. The brutal murder of the fair Hypatia has left a still darker stain on the character of Cyril. We read the narrative of Gibbon with mistrust ; but, after every possible deduction, the substantial truth of his revolting statements must be admitted. It is his attempt to fix the odium of such crimes on Christianity, that betrays his malignity.

length dissolved the mock council, and Cyril made his escape to his episcopal fortress. Ultimately, however, the enemies of Nestorius prevailed, and the Byzantine pontiff was unable to avert, by a voluntary abdication, the sentence of banishment to the Libyan oasis, and the brand of heresy. He died in exile, but is said to have survived the "Catholic tyrant of Alexandria," and was buried at Panopolis (Chemmis) in Upper Egypt, where "the immortal malice of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to cast stones at his sepulchre, and to propagate the foolish tradition, that it was never watered by the rain of heaven, which equally descends on the righteous and the ungodly."

Cyril was succeeded in the patriarchate by Dioscorus, the champion of the Eutychian heresy against Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff, whose condemnation he succeeded in obtaining at the second synod of Ephesus. "It is said," remarks Gibbon, "that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople: it is certain that the victim, before he could reach the place of his exile, expired, on the third day, of the wounds and bruises which he had received at Ephesus." Pope Leo annulled the infamous proceedings of that synod; and on the death of the Emperor Theodosius, Dioscorus was disgraced. He was formally accused at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, and compelled by its sentence to descend from his throne to the rank of a criminal. But, after his disgrace and exile, the Egyptians still regretted their dishonoured primate, and viewed with detestation his successor, whom they regarded as an usurper. "The throne of Proterius was supported by a guard of 2000 soldiers, and he waged a five years' war against the people of Alexandria; but, on the first intelligence of the death of the

Emperor Marcian, he became the victim of their zeal. On the third day before the festival of Easter, the patriarch was besieged in the cathedral, and murdered in the baptistery. 'The remains of his mangled corpse were delivered to the flames, and his ashes to the wind.' In the disorders which followed, thousands are said to have perished as victims of the diabolical frenzy which seemed to seize all classes in Egypt ; the ostensible occasion being a "metaphysical quarrel" and the decision of the synod of Chalcedon ; but the real cause was a fanaticism which would seem to be almost endemic to the Egyptian soil, and of which the priests of Apis and the monks of St. Antony successively availed themselves to maintain their ascendancy.

In the reign of Justinian, Alexandria was again the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the partizans of two contending candidates for the primacy ; Gaian, the favourite of the people, and Theodosius, the nominee of the Empress Theodora. The final victory of the latter was owing to the flames with which the lieutenant of Justinian wasted the third capital of the Roman world. Theodosius, however, was speedily removed to make way for Paul of Tanis (A.D. 538), who was succeeded (A.D. 551) by Apollinaris. The appointment of the latter was resisted by the turbulent Alexandrians, and his inauguration was celebrated by a general massacre of the schismatics. Two succeeding patriarchs, Eulogius and John the eleemosynary, laboured by more worthy means to convert or to conciliate those who still resisted the creed of Pope Leo and the decisions of Chalcedon ; the former by his writings, the latter by his bounty. At length, "the churches of Alexandria were delivered to the Catholics ; the religion of the Monophysites was proscribed in

Egypt; and a law was revived, which excluded the natives from the honours and emoluments of the state."

In the meantime, however, in the monasteries of Thebais, a perpetual succession of rival or schismatical patriarchs rose from the ashes of the deposed Theodosius, and the Monophysite churches of Syria and Egypt became united under the name of Jacobites. The faith which has been confined to a narrow sect of the Syrian Church, diffused itself over the mass of the Coptic nation, who almost unanimously rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon. Together with the creed of the Greeks, whom they stigmatized as Melchites, they abjured their manners and their language, and renounced all allegiance to the emperor, whose orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the presence of a military force. It seemed that the conflict of zeal and persecution had rekindled some sparks of national spirit in the remnant of a degenerate nation, whose ancient wisdom and power ascend beyond the records of history. When the arms of Chosroes had depopulated the land, the Jacobites enjoyed, under his reign, a short and precarious respite; but the victory of Heraclius renewed and aggravated the persecution, and their patriarch Benjamin again escaped from Alexandria to the Desert. At length, the hour of revenge, though not of deliverance, arrived. Another vial was yet to be poured out upon this devoted land, and the Byzantine yoke was not exchanged for a more galling one by the oppressed natives, when they assisted the Saracen invaders to expel their orthodox oppressors. They had nothing to lose, and they might hope to secure something, by that last resource of the slave, a change of masters. Perfidy could not be charged on a measure which had

self-defence for its plea, which violated no compact, no alliance, and which originated less in an ecclesiastical schism, than in national animosity. Memphis was first taken by the general of Omar, not till after a spirited resistance. Alexandria surrendered sometime afterwards, and being given up to pillage, its *third* library perished by the hands of the illiterate Moslems. The city of Alexander, the capital of the Ptolemies, the see of Athanasius, was consigned to the darkness and desolation so amply merited by its crimes. That which now bears the name of Christianity in Egypt, is but the sightless and hideous mummy of a Christian church. The orthodox Greeks and the Monophysite Copts, though still retaining their ancient distinctions, are alike slumbering the sleep of death amid the shades of the grossest ignorance. Twenty thousand Coptic families, of whom fifteen hundred reside in Cairo, and a few of the other Christian communions, estimated altogether at a population of 100,000 native Christians, compose the insignificant remains of the once famous patriarchate of Alexandria ;—“ a race of illiterate beggars,” to use the contemptuous yet too appropriate language of Gibbon in reference to the Copts, “ whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation.”*

Reduced to a province of the Mohammedan empire, Egypt claims but a slight notice from history. The country was thrown back into barbarism, when the capital was again transferred to Cairo. From A.D. 634, to the division of the khalifate, the obscure

* Gibbon, ch. xlvi. See Jowett's *Christ. Researches in the Mediterranean*, 1822.

affairs of the Egyptian province scarcely come into view. During the khalifate of Haroun Al Rashid, Ibrahim, the son of Aglab, first set the example of independence, by founding a petty African dynasty at Cairwan, in Barbary. To the Aglabite succeeded the Fatimite dynasty, the princes of which were compelled at first to content themselves with a circumscribed dominion, while Egypt continued under the government of Ikshid and his successors. But about A.D. 969, the Fatimite khalif, having succeeded in making himself master of the country, transferred the seat of his government from Cairwan to Kahira, the city of victory, and claimed for himself the legitimate succession to all the honours of the pontificate of Islam. In 1066, a dreadful famine raged over all Egypt and Syria, and multitudes perished for want of food. The famine was followed by the plague, and this calamity by a destructive incursion of the Turks, who ravaged the whole of Lower Egypt, committing the most horrid cruelties. The Crusaders next appeared in Egypt. Having reduced Pelusium, they laid siege to Cairo, but were induced to accept of a sum of money as the price of raising the siege, the proposal being enforced by the approach of a Syrian army. The last of the Fatimites expired in the year 1171, when the kingdom was seized by his famous vizier Saladin. Not being a descendant of Mohammed, he could not be denominated khalif, which implies the sacerdotal as well as the kingly office. On this account he chose the name of sultan, and left the office of pontiff to be filled up by a descendant of the prophet.

“ Though Saladin was acknowledged as the sultan of Egypt by many of the neighbouring states, and even received the sanction of the khalif of Bagdad, which gave him a name and influence among the

followers of Mahomed, yet, he was not secure from intestine commotions. The friends and adherents of the Fatimite khalifs raised a rebellion in the kingdom, and a pretender to the throne collected an army of 100,000 men. These, however, were soon defeated by the power and address of Saladin ; but no sooner was he freed from this alarm, than he was threatened by the soldiers of the crusades. William II. king of Sicily, had engaged in the Christian wars, and laid siege to Alexandria both by sea and land ; but the enterprising spirit of Saladin frustrated his views. With a rapidity of movement which was peculiar to the energetic mind of the Egyptian sultan, he marched to the relief of Alexandria ; and the crusaders, with a sudden panic, fled from the siege, leaving their stores, baggage, and engines.

“ At this time, the government of Damascus was under a regency ; for Malek Alsaleh was under age, and the government of affairs in his minority was not acceptable to the people. Amidst these discontents, Saladin was requested to accept the sovereign power of Syria. Having arrived at Damascus, he found little difficulty in becoming master of the country ; but he professed to assume the government in the name and for the interest of the young prince. Having settled the affairs of Damascus, he marched with a successful army through various parts of the country, while his growing prosperity excited suspicions ; and the ministers of Malek, the prince of Damascus, entering into a combination with some of the neighbouring powers, sought an opportunity to check the career, and disappoint the designs of Saladin. A battle ensued ; but the Syrian forces, together with all their allies, were defeated, and the sultan of Egypt was left master of Syria.

“ Saladin returned from his eastern conquests, and began to aggrandize and fortify the city of Grand Cairo. He encouraged the schools and literature of the country; but was drawn away from the pursuits of elegance and domestic improvements to the din of arms and the ravages of war. Having obtained possession of Syria, he was anxious to acquire Palestine; he therefore led a numerous host against the armies of the crusaders, who had assembled for the defence of the Holy Land. But there he met with the most obstinate resistance; multitudes of his army perished in the field of battle; and when he was forced to return towards Egypt, a still greater number died in the desert, from hunger, thirst, and disease. Yet, still the views of Saladin were toward Syria and the East. At the commencement of this campaign, his army was defeated both at Aleppo and Mosul; and, in the mean time, the Christians of the crusade had assembled a fleet in the Red Sea, which threatened the cities of Mecca and Medina; but Abubeker, Saladin’s viceroy in Egypt, fitted out a fleet under the command of the brave and experienced Iulu, which defeated the European expedition, and gave fresh vigour to the exertions of Saladin. In the spirit of conquest, he entered the provinces of the East; and to trace his progress would be to follow him like lightning from field to siege, and from siege to battle.

“ Having run a triumphant course through Syria, he again entered Palestine. For the space of three years, Saladin continued to gain advantages over the armies of the crusade. Various places of strength having fallen, Tiberias was at length taken, and Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, was desirous of meeting Saladin in the field. The armies met upon the banks of the Jordan, and victory declared in favour of Saladin. The

king himself was taken prisoner, as well as Arnold, lord of Karak. The king of Jerusalem was treated with respect, but Arnold was put to death by Saladin's own hand, because he had inflicted many miseries on the followers of Mahomed. Ptolemais, Neapolis, Cæsarea, and other cities, fell into the power of Saladin. Finding nothing to oppose his course, he marched directly toward Jerusalem, and besieged the city. The garrison was numerous, and made a desperate defence; but after Saladin had made a breach in the walls, and was on the point of entering the town, the commander made offers of capitulation. Saladin, however, refused to accept of the terms, and vowed that he would sack and destroy the city. His cruel threatenings roused the spirit of the Christians; and a herald declared, that they would first put 5000 Mussulman prisoners to death; and, that no European might be exposed to their revenge, they would also destroy their wives and children; that no booty might be found, they would destroy every thing valuable in the city; and, having levelled the rock which the Mahomedans held sacred, they would sally out in a body upon the besiegers; and if they were not victorious, their destruction should be accomplished by an unexampled expense of blood and misery. This desperate resolution moved Saladin to more reasonable terms; and the garrison, as well as the citizens, were spared by paying a stipulated sum of money.

“ In this enfeebled state of the Christian armies, a third crusade was determined on in Europe; and the emperor of Germany, together with Philip II. of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion of England, having arrived in Palestine, encamped before the city of Acca or Ptolemais, whilst many European ships rode

in the harbour....If there had been as much harmony as there was power among the different armies of the crusade, the city of Ptolemais must soon have fallen; but, after all the distractions in the views and counsels of the allies, Saladin was compelled to capitulate. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war; but a sum of money was to be paid to the besiegers.

“ The sultan of Egypt refused to pay the ransom; and historians tell us, that 3000 prisoners answered for it with their lives. The siege was extremely bloody. It is supposed that not fewer than 300,000 persons on either side were cut off during the conflict; and the flower of Europe as well as of Egypt and Syria, perished in the combats. Ptolemais, or Acca, became the residence of the hospitalers of St. John, and since that period, the town has been denominated St. John d’Acre.

“ Of all the European potentates, the king of England only remained; and, having laid siege to Ascalon, he took possession of that city. Upon this event, Saladin hastened to Jerusalem; and Richard followed him to the holy city. The king of England held it in close siege; but when the hour arrived that the city was to be delivered up, the besieging army retreated, and the enterprise was abandoned. The cause of this sudden and extraordinary conduct has never been well explained; and different authors have presented different views of the subject. It may justly be supposed to have been involuntary on the part of Richard; for his courage has never been questioned; and the value which he set upon his honour could not permit him to tarnish it by unworthiness of conduct. The retreat of the army, it is said, overwhelmed him

with grief; and the misfortune was probably occasioned by the discord and jealousy of the combined army. The duke of Burgundy, who was left in Palestine by the king of France with 10,000 soldiers, is said to have been as jealous as his master of the fame and valour of the English king; but, even in his retreat, Richard was formidable. He concluded a truce with Saladin for three years and upwards; various places of strength were dismantled; the whole sea-coast from Jaffa to Tyre was surrendered to the Christians; and the pilgrims of Europe, travelling to Jerusalem, were to be under the protection of the powerful Saladin. But scarcely had the king of England returned to his country, than the health of Saladin began to decline; and he finished his life about the fifty-fifth year of his age, and after he had reigned in Egypt twenty-four years.

“Alaziz, the second son of Saladin, was appointed to the government of Egypt. Not being contented with the portion of his father’s dominions assigned to him, he made successful inroads into Syria; but died suddenly in the midst of his triumphs. Upon his death, several important changes took place with respect to the affairs of Egypt and Syria; but nothing worthy of notice till the reign of Alcamel.

“When this prince was raised to the throne, he was well received by the Egyptians; but he found the state of public affairs full of disorder, and attended with danger. The Mahomedans and the Christians were plotting each other’s destruction; and the Christians were at variance among themselves. In this state of internal disquietude, the soldiers of the fifth crusade landed in Egypt, and laid siege to Damietta. The united forces of Egypt and Damascus could not overcome the European army; but Alcamel offered

such terms of accommodation as were acceptable to all the chiefs of the crusade, except D'Albano, the pope's legate. Such influence had the see of Rome then acquired, that his single voice prevented the negotiation. The siege was continued, and the town of Damietta fell. Elated with this success, the crusaders pushed into the interior of the country ; but were vanquished by the Egyptians, and were compelled to sue for mercy. The sultan of Egypt became powerful in Syria, as well as at home ; and, when Frederick II. of Germany found it necessary to return to Europe, he entered into a league with Alcamel, which was wise and profitable for both.

“ Alcamel died at Damascus, and Aladel, one of his sons, was raised to the throne ; but Nojmoddin, his eldest brother, laid claim to the kingdom. A bloody contest would probably have ensued ; but, in the mean time, Aladel died or disappeared ; and his brother Nojmoddin was peaceably proclaimed sultan. He, too, acquired influence with the most powerful party of the crusades ; for Richard, earl of Cornwall, perceiving that the sultan of Egypt was more powerful than the Syrian lords of Karak and Damascus, entered into an alliance with Nojmoddin, and renewed the treaty which Frederick of Germany had made with Alcamel his predecessor. By this covenant, the Christians were protected, and the views of Nojmoddin encouraged, in opposition to his Syrian rivals.

“ In this settled state of affairs, Nojmoddin passed into Syria, and, with the help of some uncultivated tribes, determined to overpower his eastern enemies. That part of the crusading armies which was favourable to the lords of Syria, joined them in opposing the sultan of Egypt ; but Nojmoddin overthrew them with great slaughter. In the mean time, a host of

warriors from Europe arrived in the port of Damietta, with Louis IX. of France as their leader. In the absence of the sultan, and when the nation was unprepared for this unexpected attack, the armies of the Crusade entered Damietta. The news of this event were quickly carried into Syria ; and Nojmoddin, having raised the siege of Emesa, hastened to Egypt to protect his kingdom ; but he died by the way, and left a vacancy in the government when a vigorous administration was peculiarly wanted. At this crisis, the country was saved from anarchy by the address of Shajir Aldor, the favourite female of the late sultan, who pretended that Nojmoddin was indisposed on his journey ; the principal chiefs were by this stratagem induced to swear allegiance to his only son, Turan Shah, and the young prince was proclaimed sultan upon his arrival from Damascus with a numerous army.

“ The European soldiers had by this time penetrated far into the country ; but they paid dearly for their rashness ; and Louis himself was taken prisoner.*

“ Although Turan Shah had the name of sultan, Shajir Aldor, and her adherents about the court, directed in reality the affairs of state. The young sultan was sensible of his situation, and determined to assert his proper rights ; but Shajir Aldor was aware of his intention, and caused him to be assassinated. Shajir Aldor was now declared to be sovereign of the country. She was prayed for in the mosques, and her

* Seven thousand of the French were slain or drowned in the retreat, and twenty thousand were taken prisoners. A pecuniary ransom was accepted as the terms of deliverance ; and in April 1254, after some fruitless delay, Louis embarked for France.

name was impressed on the coins.* This active and designing woman was raised to the throne by the power and influence of the Mamlouks. These were a body of Turkish slaves, who had gradually acquired authority at the Egyptian court. When Saladin usurped the sovereignty of Egypt, he durst not intrust himself to the national troops, but placed about his throne a powerful body-guard of Tatar slaves, whom the Moguls had acquired in war, and sold into bondage. Successive sultans increased the power of these attendants by new privileges; and, upon the death of Nojmoddin, they had in reality the disposal of the sovereign power.*

“ Ibeg, one of the Mamlouks, who, from their power in the state, were called emirs, was chosen to be the prime minister, or rather regent of the kingdom. But the people were dissatisfied with the government of a woman, and the management of a foreigner. Shajir Aldor was deposed; and Musa, a descendant of Alcamel, was elevated to the throne. His reign was short as well as turbulent; in the midst of internal commotions, the young sultan was removed from the throne; and, with his government, the reign of the Ayubites terminated.

“ Ibeg was now proclaimed sultan by the Baharite Mamlouks, and he immediately espoused Shajir Aldor; but, incited by jealousy, she caused him to be assassinated. By a party of the Mamlouks, Noureddin Ali was raised to the throne of his father, Ibeg, by the surname of Almansur; and Shajir Aldor was put to death. About this time, the Moguls had overrun all the Saracen possessions in the East, ex-

* The word *Mamlouk*, is the participle passive of *malak*, to possess; signifying one who is the possession or property of another,

cept Yemen and Egypt ; and the power of the khalifa was almost at an end in Bagdad. It was in this perilous conjuncture of affairs, that the young Sultan began his reign in Egypt. He was overthrown and deposed by Cutuz, an artful and ambitious chief. This warlike prince entered Syria with triumph, and, for a time, was formidable to his enemies ; but Bibars, one of his generals, acquiring influence with the Mamlouks, deposed Cutuz, and was proclaimed sultan in his stead. To give his usurpation a more legitimate colouring, Bibars acknowledged the pretensions of Ahmed, the reputed son of Daher Billah, a khalif of Bagdad ; and he was acknowledged as imam, or pontiff of the Mahomedans in Egypt. Bibars received the benediction of this Mahomedan pontiff ; and by that means acquired greater influence among the people. He was, indeed, a successful warrior, as well as a benefactor to the dominions which he acquired ; and, at the time of his death, his empire extended from the interior of Africa to the river Euphrates.

“ From this time till the year 1293, there were many changes among the sultans of Egypt ; but, though the government was unsteady, yet the nation was powerful, for the Mamlouks were brave and warlike. When Naser Mahomed was proclaimed sultan, he was only in the ninth year of his age. He suffered various reverses of fortune. Thrice he abandoned the throne of Egypt ; twice by compulsion, and once by choice ; but, in the progress of events, being firmly established in power, he exercised his authority, as well as his active mind, to correct the abuses of the state, and to restrain the exorbitant influence of the emirs and lords of the court. He improved the fertile

fields of the Delta, and repaired the canal as well as the reservoirs of Alexandria."

Upon the death of Naser, Abubeker, his son, succeeded to the throne; but so rapid were the changes of royal succession, that twelve descendants of Naser Mahommed scarcely extended their reign through the period of forty-one years.* As the Ayubite dynasty had been superseded by the Baharite Mamlouks, the Baharite sultans were in turn supplanted by their Circassian slaves, who had been permitted to acquire uncontrollable power. The sultan Hagi, who was but a child, was deposed by the influence of a Circassian chief; and the Baharite dynasty was terminated in Egypt, after it had existed about 128 years. A rapid succession of feeble monarchs ensued till, in the year 1517, the Borghite dynasty was overthrown, and the kingdom of Egypt was converted into a province of the Turkish empire.† The Ottoman conqueror gave a specimen of his government, the day after Cairo was taken by the Turks, by putting to death Tuman Bey, the Borghite sultan, at Tavila, one of the gates of Cairo; and upwards of 30,000 prisoners are said to have been beheaded in his presence, and their bodies thrown into the Nile. After remaining in Egypt for

* In the reign of the Sultan Khalil, Acre, the only possession in Syria which remained to the Franks, was taken by storm, after a siege of thirty-three days, by the Egyptian Mamlouks; and "death or slavery was the lot of 60,000 Christians." This inglorious termination of the last Crusade took place in 1291; and before the close of that year, the cry of religious war no longer rung through Palestine.—GIBSON, c. lxx.

† The new Mamlouks, who consisted of Circassian slaves imported by their former masters, were called *borghites*, because they had been distributed in the forts (*borges*) erected to keep the people in subjection.

some time, he returned to Constantinople, leading with him the last khalif of the house of Abbas.*

Agreeably to the principles of Turkish policy, Selim should have exterminated the whole body of Mamlouks; but fearful, as it should seem, of intrusting the government of this distant and important province to the absolute authority of a *beyler-bey*, he resolved to form it into a species of republic, comprising twenty-four *sanjaks* or provinces, under the military jurisdiction of as many Mamlouk beys, with a central government, composed of the pasha and a divan or council of regency, the members of which had the power of either ratifying or rejecting the orders of the viceroy. Besides these officers, the beys were to elect from their own body, a *sheikh-el-belled* (governor of the city), or mayor of Cairo, as the chief magistrate of the republic, and the medium, in case of grievance, of direct communication with the Sublime Porte.† “A more unjust and absurd constitution,” remarks Gibbon, “cannot be devised, than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude under the

* For the preceding paragraphs, containing an outline of the affairs of Egypt under Saladin and the Mamlouk dynasties, we are indebted to an article in the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, from which we have not deemed it necessary materially to deviate.

† This system of government is strikingly similar to that adhered to by the Spaniards in their American possessions, and which was probably borrowed from the Moors; the pasha answering to the captain-general, the divan to the *audiencia*, and the *sanjak-beys* to the intendants. (See Mod. Trav., Mexico, vol. i. p. 88.) The *sheikh-el-belled* is an *alcalde-mayor*, answering in some respects to the *Stamboul-effendi* or mayor of Constantinople; and at the same time serving as the responsible head of the tributary nation, like the respective patriarchs of the Greek and Armenian *rayahs*, and the *tayefdar* of the Constantinopolitan Jews. See Mod. Trav., Turkey, pp. 166, 222.

arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet, such has been the state of Egypt above 500 years. The most illustrious sultans of the Baharite and Borghite dynasties were themselves promoted from the Tatar and Circassian bands ; and the four-and-twenty beys or military chiefs have ever been succeeded, not by their sons, but by their servants.”* It is a remarkable fact, (if Volney may be depended upon,) that, during upwards of five centuries that there have been Mamlouks in Egypt, not one of them has left subsisting issue ; nor did there exist, when this Traveller visited Egypt, a single family of them in the second generation : “ all the children perish in the first or second descent.” The wives of the Mamlouks were, like themselves, Georgian, Circassian, or Mingrelian slaves, as they uniformly disdained an alliance with any native females ; and to this circumstance it has been ascribed, that the race never became naturalized to the climate. The means by which it was perpetuated, were the same as those by which it was first established : those who died, were replaced by slaves from their original country.†

* Gibbon, ch. lix. M. Savary gives a copy of the charter or ordinance by which Selim recognised the Egyptian republic ; but Gibbon questions its authenticity. The fact, however, is certain, that he concluded such a treaty, which left the Mamlouks still in possession of arms, riches, and power. See Savary’s Letters, vol. ii. letter 15, and Ency. Brit. art. Egypt.

† Volney, vol. i. c. 7. The confines of the Kuban and the Phasis have at all times been a nursery for slaves. “ But is it not extraordinary,” remarks the learned Writer, “ to read in Herodotus, that formerly Colchis (Georgia) received black inhabitants from Egypt, and to see the same country at this day make so different a return ?” The commerce is carried on in the same manner as the African slave trade ; “ by wars among the numerous tribes, and by the miserable oppression of the inhabitants, who sell their own

The divan or council instituted by Selim, was composed of the chiefs of the seven military corps. These had, at first, a common treasury; but the chiefs, finding their power circumscribed by this regulation, had interest enough to get it abolished, and obtained permission to possess distinct property in lands and villages. As these were dependent on the Mamlouk governors, it became necessary to conciliate their favour, in order to prevent their oppression. To this circumstance is ascribed the ascendancy which the beys acquired over the soldiery; and as their governments yielded considerable revenues, they were able to employ this wealth in advancing their creatures, chiefly their emancipated slaves, to the highest stations. By such means Ibrahim, one of the *ex-kiayas* or veteran-colonels of the Janizaries, succeeded, about the year 1746, in rendering himself, virtually, the sovereign of Egypt. He had so multiplied and advanced his freed-men, that, of the twenty-four beys, no fewer than eight were of his household; and the influence connected with these appointments was the greater, inasmuch as the pasha always left vacancies in the number of beys, in order to appropriate the emoluments. Moreover, the largesses which Ibrahim bestowed on the officers and soldiers of his corps, attached them to his interest; and having gained over to his party the most powerful of the Azab colonels, he became little short of absolute, the pasha retaining nothing more than the mere shadow of power. At the death of Ibrahim, in 1757, his house, that is, his enfranchised slaves, divided among themselves, but united against all others, maintained for some time children for a subsistence." (See Mod Trav. Russia, p. 294.) The slaves of both sexes are carried first to Constantinople, and thence are dispersed throughout the empire,

the ascendancy. Several chiefs succeeded each other in a very short interval, till at length, in or about the year 1766, Ali Bey, under the titles of *Emir Hadji* and *Sheikh-el-belled*, rendered himself master of the country. The history of this remarkable man, as given by Volney, claims a more distinct notice.

Ali Bey was a native of Mount Caucasus, of the tribe of Abazans. At the age of twelve or fourteen, he was sold to the Turks, and was eventually purchased at one of the annual sales at Cairo, by two Jews employed in the custom-house, who made a present of him to Ibrahim Kiaya as a page. He received the customary education, which consists in learning to manage a horse, to fire the carbine and pistol, to throw the *djereed*, and to use the sabre, together with a little reading and writing; and by the activity and fire which he displayed in every manly exercise, he acquired the honourable surname of *djendali* or madman. When between eighteen and twenty, his patron suffered him to let his beard grow; in other words, gave him his freedom. He subsequently provided him with a wife, promoted him to the rank of *kashef*, or governor of a district, and at length procured his nomination as one of the four-and-twenty beys. The death of his patron opened a free course for his ambitious projects. He engaged in various intrigues for raising or displacing his rivals, in some of which he was successful; but he had his turn of ill-fortune, and was sentenced to retire to Gaza.* Not deeming that city a very secure or eligible residence, Ali made a feint to obey by taking that route, but, on the third day, turned towards the Said,

* He is stated, indeed, to have been exiled no fewer than three times.

where he was joined by his partizans. He resided for two years at Djirjeh, where he matured his plans for securing the power to which he so ardently aspired. At the end of that time, his friends or partizans at Cairo having procured his recall, he suddenly made his re-appearance in that city, and, in one night, slew four beys who were his enemies, exiled four others, and found himself at the head of the more numerous party. Not content with having possessed himself of supreme authority, he expelled the pasha, and setting at defiance the Ottoman emperor, refused even the accustomed tribute. In 1768, he went so far as to coin money in his own name. The Porte did not want the will to punish these daring attacks on its supremacy ; but an open war was not at that time convenient, the Divan being too much occupied with the affairs of Poland and the pretensions of Russia. The usual method of *capiji-bashis* was had recourse to ; but poison or the poniard always anticipated the commission they bore. In the mean time, Ali pushed forward his enterprises with success. His first expedition was against some Arab sheikhs of the Said, who enjoyed a degree of independence. He sent a body of Mamlouks, under his favourite, Mohammed Bey, who destroyed them and their power in a day. He next fitted out some vessels at Suez, which he manned with Mamlouks, and ordered them to take possession of the port of Djidda, while a body of cavalry under Mohammed Bey marched upon Mekka, which was given up to plunder. He is said to have entertained the project, suggested by a young Venetian merchant, of making Djidda the emporium of the Indian trade, hoping to supersede the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. He next turned his ambitious views towards Syria. Sheikh Daher, the Lord of

Acre, in rebellion against the Porte, was a powerful and faithful ally ; and the extortions of Osman, Pasha of Damascus, by predisposing those whom he oppressed to revolt, afforded a favourable opportunity for invading his territories. All his measures being taken, Ali detached, in 1770, under the command of five beys, a corps of about 500 Mamlouk cavalry to take possession of Gaza, in order to secure an entrance into Palestine. Osman Pasha no sooner heard of the invasion, than he hastened at the head of a numerous army to expel the intruders, and encamped near Jaffa ; but finding that Mohammed Bey had effected a junction with the troops of Sheikh Dahher, he retreated, and awaited the enemy under the walls of Damascus. On the 6th of June, 1771, a decisive action took place, in which the Syrians were completely defeated, and the allies took possession of Damascus without opposition. The castle alone resisted, but capitulated on the third day. Before, however, the surrender was actually made, an extraordinary revolution took place. The crafty Osman had contrived, by means of a trusty emissary, to inspire the Egyptian general with jealousy of his own master, so as to make him and his beys resolve on their instantaneous return. So precipitate was their flight, that the report of their coming preceded their arrival in Cairo by only six hours. Ali Bey, thus deprived at one stroke of the fruits of an expensive campaign, was compelled to dissemble his mortification and resentment : he continued to send succours to his ally Sheikh Dahher, and was preparing to raise a second army, when an open rupture took place between him and his too powerful officer. Stimulated by jealousy, he had ordered Mohammed Bey into exile, intending, it is said, to intercept him in the way ; but the Bey escaped to the Said, and in about six weeks, found

himself strong enough to return at the head of an army to Cairo. Ali Bey had barely time to make his escape with about 800 Mamlouks, as Mohammed and his party entered the capital sabre in hand. He repaired to Gaza, and thence endeavoured to push forward to Acre, to join his ally; but the Turks of Jaffa opposed his passage, and Sheikh Dahher was obliged to open the way for him by force. These events took place in the spring of 1772: The remainder of the year was occupied with the joint operations of Dahher and Ali Bey against the common enemy. It was then agreed upon, that the Sheikh should assist his ally by a powerful armament, in regaining possession of Egypt; but, before the requisite preparations could be matured, Ali, deceived by false representations from his pretended partizans in Cairo, and by the treacherous auguries of his *kiaya*, a Copt who abused his superstitious credulity, advanced with an inadequate force into the desert of Gaza, where a thousand Mamlouks lay in ambush, and after a short conflict, was wounded and taken prisoner. His death, three days after, was occasioned either by his wounds or by poison.*

Thus terminated the career of a man who excited not less attention from the politicians of Europe in his day, than the fortunate adventurer who at present holds the kingdom of Egypt under his dominion. "That he was an extraordinary character," says Volney, "cannot be denied, but it is exaggeration to rank him with great men." His character and conduct were stained with the common vices of his order. Perjury, treachery, and ingratitude, were the means

* For further details relating to Ali's Syrian compaign, and the history of that extraordinary man, Dahher, see MOD. TRAV., Syria, vol. i. pp. 6-24.

by which he obtained his power ; and an imprudent thirst for conquest, together with the premature indolence to which he resigned himself, paved the way for his downfall. Yet, there were not wanting, among the European merchants more especially, those who deplored his death, extolling his good government, his zeal for justice, and his beneficence to the Franks. By his native subjects he was not regretted. The heavy contributions rendered necessary by his expensive wars, occasioned bitter murmurs. The expedition against Mekka alone is said to have cost upwards of a million sterling ; and the exportation of corn for the use of the armies, added to the monopoly granted to some merchants in favour, caused a famine which desolated the country during the whole of the years 1770 and 1771.* Like his predecessors, he considered Egypt as his private property or life estate, and the natives as the live stock, disposable at his pleasure.†

The reign of Mohammed Bey displayed nothing but the ferocity of a robber, as his previous conduct had been marked by the baseness of a traitor. To colour his ingratitude, and to secure his power, he pretended to be only the defender of the rights of the Ottoman Sultan, and he remitted accordingly to Constantinople, the tribute which had been withheld for the preceding six years. By these demonstrations of loyalty, he obtained, with the title of Pasha, permission to make war on the Arab Dahher ; and in February 1776, he entered Palestine at the head of a formidable army, provided with an extraordinary train of artillery and foreign gunners. Dahher's troops evacuated

* Volney must be mistaken in ascribing the famine to this monopoly alone, since wheat forms but a very small proportion of the food of the natives.

† Volney's Trav., vol. i. c. 8.

Gaza at his approach, but Jaffa baffled the besiegers for six weeks, owing to the inexpertness of the Mam-louks in this species of warfare. It was then taken by surprise, while negotiations were in progress for its surrender, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. A pyramid of 1200 heads attested the meanly barbarous conduct of the conqueror. This event spread terror through the country. The Sheikh, leaving Acre to the charge of his son Ali, took refuge at Szaffad. Ali attempted to make a separate treaty with Mohammed, but, failing in this, abandoned the town to be plundered by the Egyptians. The greater part of the moveable wealth had, however, been previously carried off; and Mohammed, enraged at his disappointment, threatened to put to death all the Frank merchants, with whom he supposed it to have been deposited, unless they delivered up the secreted treasure. Before he could execute this threat, he was seized with a malignant fever, and died on the third day. No sooner was his death known, than the whole army tumultuously decamped, taking the shortest road to Cairo. Here, another scramble for power took place, between Mourad Bey, the favourite general of Mohammed, and Ibrahim, afterwards *sheikh-el-beiled*, and alternately his rival and confederate, on the one side, and the remaining partizans of Ali Bey on the other. The contest, after various alternations of fortune, terminated, in March 1785, in the establishment of Mourad and Ibrahim in a joint and precarious authority.*

In the mean time, a peace having been concluded

* Here Volney fails us; and for the sequel, as well as for the best account of the Mamlouks and these petty revolutions, we are indebted to the Author of *Anastasius*. See vol. i. ch. 16; II. 1-5, and 11.

between the courts of Constantinople and St. Petersburg, the Porte resolved to attempt the recovery of Egypt;* and in July, 1786, the famous Hassan Pasha landed at Alexandria with an army of 25,000 men. In a battle which ensued near Mentoobes, the Mamlouk cavalry were completely routed, and Hassan entered without further opposition the deserted capital, which, from being a Mamlouk city, became suddenly

* According to the Author of *Anastasius*, who claims for his historical details the credit of strict accuracy, the Russians did the Mamlouks the same ill service that they rendered to the unfortunate Greeks of the Morea. During the reign of Ali Bey, an alliance had been proposed between Egypt and Russia; and "this project, the Autocratix of all the Russias failed not to resume, so soon as she saw Ibrahim and Mourad in firm possession of the supreme authority. Her wish was, to obtain from the beys the port of Alexandria, an object of the greatest importance to her future maritime operations against the Turks. In return, she offered to afford these turbulent leaders every assistance in shaking off the yoke of the Sultan; and the Russian consul-general at Alexandria, Thonus by name, was entrusted with the negotiation. He had the facility of corresponding with the rulers at Cairo through the medium of a personage, once a Russian subject, but then a renegade, a Mamlouk, and a bey, under the appellation of Khassim. On the other hand, he found indissolubly united against him, the consuls of the other European powers in Egypt, who, whether friendly to the Porte or not, were all alike hostile to the plan of giving up to the Russians so important a harbour as Alexandria." To defeat their opposition, he availed himself of a petty misunderstanding between Mourad and the "commercial diplomatists," to persuade them that their persons were no longer in safety; and they had actually embarked in a body for Constantinople, when Ibrahim, alarmed for the consequences, sent a messenger to efface by his concessions the outrages of his colleague. But an express had already made the Porte acquainted with these transactions; and the Divan, wishing to humble the rebellious beys, notwithstanding the pacific protestations of the reconciled consuls, readily undertook to avenge the insult offered to the Christian strangers. Hassan, Capitan Pasha, the favourite of Abdulhamid, had his own reasons for not letting the quarrel be hushed up.—*ANASTASIUS*, vol. ii. pp. 232—234.

transformed into a Turkish camp.* The office of vizier was conferred on Abdi, formerly Pasha of Haleb (Aleppo), but the real power remained in the hands of Ismail, who was made *Sheikh-el-belled*. The government being thus re-organized, Hassan, on the 24th of July, 1787, signed a treaty with the rebel beys, by which he left them in full possession of the country from Barbieh to the frontiers of Nubia, all below those limits being prohibited ground. This arrangement placed the new *Sheikh-el-belled* in a very difficult situation. By planting a watchful enemy on his very boundary, against whom it was necessary always to be prepared, it increased his expenses, while it diminished his income. "Fortunately, Ismail's abilities were equal to his task. By his firmness, he awed the open hostility of the party in Upper Egypt, and by his vigilance, he defeated the treachery in his own councils. He made the heavier burthens which he was forced to impose, seem lighter, by causing them to bear more equally on all classes. He applied himself with equal skill to curing wounds inflicted, and to obviating impending evils; and finally, he carried from the mountains of Libya to the city of Cairo, a line of walls which frowned defiance on the undisciplined troops of the Beys in the Said. After these

* "Mourad, with his well-mounted Mamlukes, all mail without, and all ardour within, felt secure of an easy victory over the grand admiral's ill-equipped foot soldiers. He had neither taken into his account the artillery by which they were flanked on the stream, nor the swamps he must wade through to attack them on its banks. Received, on his first onset, with a tremendous discharge of cannon from the boats, his troops were immediately thrown into confusion. Even the safety of flight was denied them. Sinking with the weight of their accoutrements, up to their horses' bellies, into the rice grounds that formed the field of battle, they became motionless, and were slaughtered at pleasure by Hassan's naked infantry."—ANASTASIUS, vol. II. p. 236.

labours, Ismail seemed, in 1790, to have nothing further left to do, but to sit down and to enjoy the fruits of his arduous toils, when that scourge of the East, the plague, imperfectly subdued, broke out afresh with a virulence far exceeding its former fury. In the very act of concerting measures to stem its devastations, in the midst of all his glory, Ismail fell a prey to the contagion, and a few hours saw him dragged from the pinnacle of power to the brink of the grave.* Finding his end draw near, he summoned all his veterans into his presence, with a view to secure the reversion of his dignity to a fit successor; but no one dared to face the difficulties of the situation, till the offer was at last made to Ismail's own creature, Osman, surnamed Toobbal; a youth as crooked in mind as he was deformed in body, and who accepted the dignity, only to sell it to the exiled Beys. Once more, the remnant of Ali Bey's creations, with the tools of Hassan Pasha, reluctantly transferred their quarters to the Said, while Cairo reverted to its former masters: the country south of the capital was allotted to Ibrahim, and the regions northward fell to the share of Morad Bey.†

But Egypt was now to be made the theatre of a very different contest; and in the year 1798, the Ottoman Government and the Mamlouk Beys were equally alarmed at the arrival of a powerful French armament, under Admiral Brueys, off the Libyan coast. Having effected a landing at Marabou, the troops under General Bonaparte rapidly marched upon Alexandria. The city refused to surrender, and made a spirited resistance, but the French at length obtained possession of the town, after a dreadful slaughter

* Anastasius, vol. iii. pp. 297, 8.

† Ibid., p. 300.

on both sides, Generals Kleber and Menou being both wounded.* Bonaparte then directed his troops to march for Cairo, while a flotilla was ordered to sail up the Nile, to meet them at Ramanieh, and other divisions of the French army, by a route across the desert, reached the place of general rendezvous. Here, the Mamlouk Beys made a valorous stand, and an engagement took place (July 19), which has been pompously miscalled the battle of the Pyramids : † it was decided by the French bayonets, and the field was covered with the slain. This action made the French masters of Djizeh and the island of Rhoda ; and on the following morning, Cairo capitulated ; on condition that the lives, property, and privileges of its inhabitants should be respected. Bonaparte had issued a proclamation at Alexandria, in which protection was promised to the natives, and the object of the French expedition was pretended to be, the restoration of the legitimate influence of the Grand Signior. He professed at the same time the highest reverence for the Mohammedan faith. This thin disguise, however, ill concealed the real intention. The Pasha fled, with the *Sheikh-el-belled* (Ibrahim), into the eastern part of the Delta, leaving his *kiaya* to negotiate with the enemy ; while Mourad Bey, with the remnant of

* Sir Robert Wilson gives a different representation of this affair. "The boasted assault of Alexandria," he says, "was a contemptible as well as cruel action, unworthy altogether of Bonaparte's fame. Policy may excuse the gasconade of his despatches, but not the wanton storm of a city for the sake of striking terror, and fixing an impression of the French name throughout Egypt. The murder of the garrison was a barbarous violence, and the indulgence granted to his troops of a three hours' sacking of the place, an act of unjustifiable inhumanity."—*Hist. of the Expedition*, (2d ed.) p. 17, note.

† Imbaba, in front of which Mourad Bey was defeated by the French, is seven miles from the Pyramids.

his troops, retreated towards Sakkara. Bonaparte pursued Ibrahim with a numerous army; but, unable to meet with him, returned to Cairo, where he conferred upon the Egyptians a new political constitution, which gave the people the show of an election in choosing the principal officers of state, while the power was left in the hands of the French agent. The Grand Signior having now proclaimed war against France, Bonaparte resolved to carry his arms into Syria. El Arish and Jaffa were taken, and on the 20th of March, 1799, trenches were opened by the French before Acre.

While these events were taking place, the British Government were not idle. Before Bonaparte left Cairo, he received the mortifying and alarming intelligence of the destruction of the French fleet by the British admiral, afterwards Lord Nelson, in the Bay of Aboukir. At Acre, he was baffled in various attempts to take the town, by the skilful co-operation of the British vessels under Sir Sidney Smith; and at length, after a series of severe conflicts, the arrival of a Turkish fleet under Hassan, Capitan Pasha, compelled the French to raise the siege, which had lasted three months. Concealing his design by keeping up an incessant fire on the town, Bonaparte retreated during the night to Jaffa, where he embarked his smaller cannon and wounded soldiers, sinking his heavy artillery. But the vessels were captured, and the heavy ordnance was discovered by the British. Troops of cavalry hung on the rear of the retreating army; and their route to Egypt was marked by the desolation they made, and by the bodies of those who fell through fatigue or by the sabre of the enemy.

In the mean time, General Desaix had pursued Mourad Bey into the Said as far as Syene; but, though

victorious, he could not subdue the Mamlouks, who moved from place to place with incredible rapidity. When Bonaparte returned to Egypt, he found Mourad among the Pyramids of Djizeh ; but he was unable to bring him to a general action, the wily Bey retiring into the province of Fayoum. Soon afterwards; his attention was called to a different quarter, by intelligence that a Turkish fleet had landed at Aboukir an army of about 8000 men. With his usual promptitude, he determined upon an immediate trial of strength and fortune, and by rapid movements led his forces to attack them in camp. Both wings of the Ottoman army were assailed at once by detachments in advance, while General Murat with his cavalry darted on the centre. The conflict was obstinate and sanguinary, but ended in the almost entire destruction of the Ottoman army, most of those who escaped the slaughter being drowned in attempting to reach the ships.

Bonaparte now returned in triumph to the capital, where he attempted to tranquillize the people, and celebrated with great solemnity the festival of the Prophet. But the destruction of the French fleet had altogether changed the situation of the invaders, who, separated from the mother country, found themselves imprisoned in the midst of their conquests, and compelled to depend upon their own resources for subsistence. Under these circumstances, Egypt had no longer any attractions for Bonaparte, while the state of things in France powerfully invited his return. Under pretence that public business required his presence at Alexandria, he suddenly left Cairo, and having made all his arrangements with the most profound secrecy, on the 24th August, embarked on board a frigate anchored in the port of Alexandria. In sail,

ing from Corsica, he narrowly escaped being taken by the British squadron; but, favoured by the night, on the 14th of September, 1799, the fugitive general and future emperor of the French arrived safely in the port of Frejus.

Bonaparte was succeeded in the command of the army in Egypt by General Kleber, who had directions to negotiate with the Grand Signior for the abandonment of their conquests, retaining for the French a commercial ascendancy; but the British interest prevailed at Constantinople, and the overtures of the French were rejected. An armistice, however, was agreed upon by commissioners from all the belligerent parties, assembled on board the *Tigre*; and on the 24th of January, 1800, the treaty of El Arish was entered into, by which the French engaged to evacuate the country, their private property being respected, and their safe return guaranteed. But Kleber, inspirited by recent successes and by favourable advices from France, refused to abide by the terms of agreement.* Not long afterwards, he was assassinated upon the terrace of his garden at Cairo. His successor in the command, General Menou, anxious to recommend himself to the favour of the First Consul, and in full expectation of receiving supplies from Europe,† per-

* A note in Sir Robert Wilson's History places this refusal in a very different light. "Sir Sydney Smith, on receiving Lord Keith's refusal to the convention of El Arish, instantly sent off an express with it to Cairo, as he knew General Kleber was to evacuate that city immediately on the faith of that treaty: thus preferring the maintenance of his own and the nation's honour to a temporary advantage. The messenger arrived a few hours before the evacuation was to have been completed, and the consequences are well known."—p. 65. The Turks never forgave Sir Sydney Smith for this "generous honesty."

† In fact, important succours of troops and ammunition soon afterwards reached Alexandria by four French frigates.

sisted in the determination to retain possession of the country at all hazards, and pushed forward the public works which his predecessors had begun.

Under these circumstances, no alternative remained but to dislodge the intruders by force; and for this purpose, the secret expedition under Admiral Lord Keith, with Sir Ralph Abercromby as commander-in-chief of the troops, received orders to make for Egypt. Unhappily, the expedition having been originally fitted out for a different destination, no adequate information had been previously obtained with respect to the country. "Not a map to be depended upon could be procured, and the best draught from which information could be formed, and which was distributed to the generals, proved ridiculously incorrect."* The most erroneous notions also prevailed with regard to the strength of the French force. To these disadvantageous circumstances must be added, the scanty and ineffectual nature of the promised supplies from Constantinople, the miserable deficiency of horses for the British cavalry, and the impolitic waste of time occasioned by waiting for the co-operation of the Turks. At length, on the 1st of March, 1801, the British fleet anchored in the Bay of Aboukir; and on the 8th, a debarkation was effected of the first division of the army, under a constant fire from the French, who occupied the heights, and with the loss of nearly 500 men, including several gallant officers. Indeed, the landing of troops in face of such a position, was one of the most desperate enterprises that, perhaps, were ever attempted; and its brilliant, though dear-bought success, must be attributed to the physical courage of the British troops. Daily skirmishes ensued between the two armies, but no regular engagement took place

* Sir R. Wilson, p. 7.

till the 13th, when, on the advance of the British forces, the army of General Menou was discovered occupying a strong position on a range of sand hills, in force about 6000 men. Sir Ralph Abercromby determined to turn their right. The charge of the French cavalry, supported by a heavy fire of artillery, was bravely repulsed, and the enemy were ultimately driven from their position; but the British suffered severely from the exterminating fire of their guns, and, owing chiefly to ignorance of the country, were deterred from following up their success, or from turning it to any good account. A second battle, therefore, became inevitable; and in the memorable affair of the 21st, British valour and intrepidity again triumphed over superior numbers and various disadvantages.* The victory, however, was dearly purchased by the loss of many brave officers, and above all, by that of the brave Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, who was mortally wounded.

The command of the army now devolved on General Hutchinson, who had an arduous and perilous part to perform. Not an inch of territory had been acquired by the battle of Alexandria; an army superior in force and equipment was still to be combated; strong places were to be taken; supplies were to be

* The French army, according to Gen. Reynier, was 9700 men strong, (other accounts state their force at 12,000,) including 1500 cavalry, with 46 pieces of cannon. The British force, reduced by their losses in the actions of the 8th and 13th, did not yield an effective strength of 10,000 men, including 300 cavalry. The half of that number resisted and repulsed the concentrated attack of the French, the battle being fought by the right only of the British army. Sir Robert Wilson estimates the loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at 4000, of whom about 1700 were found on the field. That of the British was 239 killed, 1250 wounded, 32 missing.—See WILSON'S *History*, pp. 30—44.

obtained from the interior, and a communication to be established with the Vizir: add to which, the climate was greatly against troops newly arrived; the plague and other diseases threatened to reduce his force; and the British admiral had intimated, that, after October, the weather and the state of the shipping would no longer allow of his remaining off the coast. An attack on Alexandria was deemed an enterprise too desperate to be undertaken; yet, to remain inert was impossible: the fleet wanted water, the troops fresh provisions. It was therefore determined to make an effort to obtain possession of Rosetta; but it was impossible to detach any considerable force. That town became, however, an easy conquest to a small detachment, having been left uncovered by the French; and some days after (April 19), Fort St. Julien, which secured the command of the Nile, surrendered to the British and the Capitan Pasha, who supported the attack by the Turkish gun-boats.

It was at this crisis that General Hutchinson reluctantly consented to a measure which had been anticipated by the fears of the French,* and for which may be offered at least the plea of urgent necessity. This was, the cutting of the canal of Alexandria, so

* See p. 50. "In General Roiz's pocket had been found a letter of General Menou's, anxiously expressing a fear that the English had cut the canal of Alexandria, and thus let the waters of the sea into Lake Marcotis. From that moment, it had become the favourite object of the army, as, by securing the left and part of its front, the duty would be diminished. General Hutchinson reluctantly consented, while the army were in raptures. Four cuts were made, of six yards in breadth, and about ten from each other.... The water rushed in with a fall of six feet; and the pride and peculiar care of Egypt, the consolidation of ages, was in a few hours destroyed by the devastating hand of man..... The water continued entering for a month with considerable force."—WILSON'S *History*, p. 55.

as to admit the sea into the basin of Lake Mareotis, by which the left of the British army and part of its front were secured against all attack, while the French were nearly cut off from the interior. In consequence of this inundation, a much inferior force was deemed sufficient to maintain the position before Alexandria, and General Hutchinson was enabled to press on his operations against the interior. The strong post of Rhamanieh, at the head of the canal of Alexandria, surrendered to the British after a smart action on the 9th. of May ; and on the 17th, a French convoy advancing from Alexandria, was overtaken by a British detachment, and surrendered on the promise of being sent to France. The army of the Grand Vizir continued to advance on Cairo ; and at El Hanka, an engagement took place with the French troops, who had advanced to drive them back to Salehiyeh, in which the Turks were victorious. On the 23rd, General Hutchinson had an interview with the Grand Vizir, who had encamped at Benerhasset on the Nile, to concert measures for the siege of Cairo. The allied armies continued slowly to advance along the opposite banks of the river ; but various difficulties conspired to retard the movements of the British. The army were decidedly averse to the movement ; they were four months in arrears of pay ; dysentery and ophthalmia had made frightful ravages ; and they were at every step leaving further behind their supplies and stores. The season of inundation, too, was drawing on, and they had the prospect of a protracted siege. General Hutchinson, however, had taken his resolution, and the event justified his firmness. General Belliard, the French commander at Cairo, on the 22nd of June, sent a flag of truce to propose a con-

ference ; and on the 27th, articles of capitulation were signed, by which the French garrison were permitted to evacuate the city, under promise of being sent to France. They marched out of Cairo on the 10th of July ; and on the 15th, Egypt beheld the extraordinary and imposing spectacle of their beginning their march, along with the allied army, for Rosetta. The Turks preceded ; the British army followed ; then, the French, with flanking parties of their own cavalry on their left ; and the English cavalry, with two beydoms of Mamlouks, closed the rear. The Nile was covered with *djermes*, the French army using for their sick and baggage, 300. The immense number of vessels, the variety of colours, the different nations who composed the armies, with all the relative circumstances, rendered the scene one of the most picturesque and interesting ever exhibited.

General Hutchinson remained a fortnight at Cairo, as well to recover his health, as to reinstate the Mamlouks in the government, which he was bound by treaty to effect. The brave Mourad Bey was no more, having been carried off by the plague in the month of April, when on the point of joining the British army. He was succeeded by Osman Bey Tambourji, who, at the head of eleven beys, repaired to the allied camp in June, and they were received by the Turks with apparent cordiality. On the surrender of Cairo, the British General insisted that the Mamlouk beys should be reinstated in all their rights and dignities, on condition of paying their tribute regularly to the Porte, with the proviso, that the Turkish pasha should no longer be kept an honorary prisoner, but have at his command a body of troops sufficient to make his authority respected. The aged Ibrahim Bey, who represented

himself as wholly depending upon the protection of the English, now found himself once more established at Cairo.

Nothing of importance had in the meantime occurred before Alexandria; but, in the beginning of July, the British troops under General Coote had been re-inforced by fresh troops from England. On the 15th of August, General Hutchinson joined the camp, and found himself in command of 16,000 effective men. The siege of Alexandria was now immediately determined upon, Menou having declared his resolution to bury himself in its ruins, rather than surrender. Both sides of the city were invested, and the shipping in the old harbour were pouring destruction upon the place, when the French general at length made proposals to capitulate; and on the 2nd of September, the garrison surrendered. Thus terminated this arduous and important campaign, so glorious to the British arms, yet unproductive of any other result than the restoration of Egypt to the Ottomans; but then it had been wrested from France.*

Notwithstanding that the Porte had consented to the re-establishment of the Mamlouks, the Capitan Pasha had laid his plans for ensnaring the principal Beys, and carrying them off to Constantinople; but the plot was discovered, and in the affray which it occasioned, Osman Bey Tambourji, the chief, was

* "Had it not been for the sudden departure of Bonaparte, the assassination of Kleber, and the stupidity of Menou," says a French writer (M. Agoub), "that country would now be a province of France." The arms of the British, of course, had little to do with the expulsion of the French! Had this country become a French colony, it would have compensated to France the loss of St. Domingo and all her West India possessions; and her occupation of this central position would have been one of the severest blows that England could receive.

killed. As the British faith had been pledged to guarantee their security, this outrage excited on the part of General Hutchinson strong indignation. Through his interference, those who had been taken prisoners were set at liberty, and a new agreement was entered into, by which the Beys abandoned all pretensions to Cairo and Lower Egypt, on condition of being allowed to possess Upper Egypt within a certain distance from Djizeh. Deprived of their revenue, reduced in numbers, separated from the provinces which supplied them with recruits and successors, their power might be considered as annihilated, and their eventual extinction could not be long delayed.

During the war between Great Britain and Turkey, which broke out in 1806, a second expedition was fitted out against Egypt, under the command of General Fraser, the issue of which was most disastrous. Alexandria surrendered to the British arms, but the troops were repulsed in two successive attempts to occupy Rosetta, and the enterprise was ingloriously abandoned. The British Government had been mis-informed with respect to the Turkish forces in Egypt, and had calculated on the co-operation of the Beys; but the latter took the opportunity of making their peace with the Pasha, and the invaders found the whole country prepared to oppose their progress. The internal state of Egypt had undergone, indeed, an important revolution, by the accession of the extraordinary personage to the viceroyalty, who now fills the throne of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. An imperial firman had not long confirmed him in the government, to which the voice of the army and the inhabitants had raised him, when he signalled his elevation by the victory obtained over the English in the unfortunate affair before Rosetta and El Hamet,

in which the flower of our little army was killed, wounded, or made prisoners. A brief memoir of this fortunate adventurer will close our rapid outline of Egyptian history.

Mohammed Ali was born at Cavalla in Roumelia,* in the year 1769. His father, Ibrahim Aga, was chief of the guard for the security of the public roads. At his death, his son, then a boy, was taken into the house of the governor of Cavalla, and he commenced his fortunate career by assisting his patron in collecting the taxes, and in putting down a spirit of insubordination at the expense of a few lives. For this service, he was created a *boulouk-bashi*, and received in marriage a widow of the governor's family, by whom he had three sons, Ibrahim, Toussoun, and Ismael. With the aid of a little money brought by his wife, and by means of his family connexions, Mohammed now engaged as a merchant in the tobacco trade, which he continued to pursue with some success, until an event occurred, which called him to fulfil a higher destiny. On the invasion of Egypt by the French, the governor of Cavalla was required by the Porte to furnish his contingent, amounting to 300 men, the command of which he gave to his son, while Mohammed was sent with him as a sort of Mentor. The young man, disgusted with the service, soon after landing in Egypt, quitted the army, and returned home, leaving the command of his contingent to Mohammed, who now took the title of *bim-bashi*. In the first battle in which he was engaged, against the division of the French under General Lagrange, he lost the greater part of his men; but his spirited conduct attracted the attention of the Capitan Pasha,

* The ancient Neapolis. See Mod. Trav., Turkey, p. 294.

who selected him to head an attack upon the fort in which the French had posted themselves. During the night, he succeeded in getting within the intrenchments, ready to storm as soon as the day-light should appear ; but in the morning, it was discovered that the French had evacuated the works. This bloodless enterprise raised him, however, another step.

In the subsequent campaign against the Mamlouks, the viceroy, Kousrouf Pasha, gave Mohammed the command of a division under Yousef Bey, who, being completely beaten, laid the blame upon his officer. The viceroy, exasperated, determined to send Mohammed into exile, and with this intention, ordered him to appear before him at night. Mohammed, in answer to the message, demanded pay for himself and his soldiers, adding, that he would wait upon him with his troops the next day. A few days afterwards, the viceroy was himself driven from the capital by the Albanians under Taher Pasha, who, for a short time, assumed the reins of government ; but, on his inviting the Mamlouks into Cairo, he was assassinated by the Turks. From that moment, Mohammed Ali commenced a series of intrigues with the Turks, the Mamlouks, and the Albanians, making each and all of them alternately his instruments, either as allies or enemies, as best suited his ulterior views, but always using his influence, and generally with success, in appeasing sedition. For his services in this respect, he was rewarded by an imperial firman with the dignity of pasha. The whole army was at this time deeply in arrears of pay, and Khourshid, the new viceroy, had made himself universally unpopular by his exactions. What share Mohammed Ali had in fomenting this dissatisfaction, does not appear ; but so it happened,

or was contrived, that the people, headed by the shiehks, the officers generally, and the army, declared, that they would no longer be governed by Khourshid, and called upon Mohammed to be their ruler. With apparent reluctance he acceded to their urgent solicitation, and proceeded to besiege Khourshid, who had shut himself up, with his followers, in the castle of Cairo. The dispute was terminated by the arrival of a firmaun, constituting Mohammed Viceroy of Egypt, with the dignity of the three tails.

Alexandria still remained in the hands of the Turks, but the unfortunate expedition of the English in 1807, did Mohammed the service of putting this important place into his hands. There would have been no difficulty in our retaining possession of it ; but " it was deemed a wise measure to give up the town and harbour to Mohammed Ali, instead of to the Porte : his hands thus became strengthened, commerce flourished, the revenues were augmented, and the general prosperity of the country rapidly advanced by the liberal policy which he continued after the example of the English, and which, there is reason to believe, he did the more readily at the recommendation of the British vice-consul." *

The Pasha's authority was very far, however, from being as yet established. A remnant of the Mamlouks yet survived ; and at once to propitiate the Porte, and to secure his own power, Mohammed resolved on their extermination. For the act itself, strong political pleas in extenuation might be offered. It is urged, and probably with truth, that he had received orders from the Divan at Constantinople to destroy them ; and he is said, too, to have known that the Beys were

in correspondence with his enemies. Nothing, however, can justify the truly Turkish method which he adopted to execute his barbarous purpose. Having invited the Mamlouks to Cairo in 1811, he received the Beys in the citadel with great ceremony and apparent friendship, presenting them with coffee, at the very moment that he was making dispositions for intercepting and basely assassinating them on leaving his presence. The Beys being despatched, the troops were ordered to arrest all the Mamlouks. Those who were taken, were conducted before the *kiaya-bey*, and instantly beheaded. Many innocent individuals, foreigners, are said to have fallen victims to the sanguinary fury of the soldiery.* The citadel presented the appearance of a slaughter-house ; mutilated corpses choked up the passages, and on all sides might be seen, horses richly caparisoned, stretched by the side of their masters, *djoubas* pierced with balls, broken weapons, and garments covered with blood. All these spoils fell to the soldiers. In the morning, they counted among the slain, 470 Mamlouk cavalry : none had escaped the massacre.† For several days, the greatest terror and disorder prevailed in Cairo. All the shops were shut, and the streets and bazars were deserted, while every species of outrage was committed with impunity by the undisciplined and barbarous soldiery. The spoils found in the houses of the Beys were of incalculable value ; but not only the habitations of the proscribed parties were pillaged : those in the

* Mengin. *Hist. de l'Egypte*, vol. i p. 362. Probably, the French soldiers who had attached themselves to the Mamlouks, are here referred to. Sir R. Wilson represents the number of these deserters to have been considerable, remarking that they "should be rooted out of the country whatever may be its fate."

† This massacre took place May 1, 1811.

neighbourhood shared the same fate. The city resembled a place taken by assault; and not till after 500 houses had been completely sacked, did the Pasha think fit or venture to descend from the citadel, and, at the head of his troops, adopt decisive measures for putting a stop to these disorders. The same treacherous measures were pursued in the provinces, where, by order of the Pasha, every Mamlouk that could be met with, was put to death.*

Mohammed Ali was now at liberty to give his undivided attention to the state of affairs in Arabia, whether his son, Toussoun Pasha, had been sent with an army against the Wahhabees. He had already taken the city of Medina, the keys of which the Pasha sent to the Porte, with large presents of money, jewels, coffee, and other valuable articles. Mohammed Ali now deemed it high time to pay his devotions at the Kaaba of Mekka. At Djidda, he was received by the

* In the fall and extermination of the Mamlouks, there is nothing to be regretted. Their government, as Sir R. Wilson remarks, "was unnatural and oppressive; their habits and customs degrading to mankind." Volney has thus portrayed their character: "Born for the most part in the rites of the Greek Church, and circumcised the moment they are bought, they are considered by the Turks themselves as renegadoes void of faith and of religion. Strangers to each other, they are not bound by those natural ties which unite the rest of mankind. Without parents, without children, the past has done nothing for them, and they do nothing for the future. Ignorant and superstitious from education, they become ferocious from the murders they commit, perfidious from frequent cabals, seditious from tumults, and base, deceitful, and corrupted by every species of debauchery. They are, above all, addicted to that abominable wickedness which was at all times the vice of the Greeks and the Tatars, and is the first lesson they receive from their masters."—Volney's *Trav.*, vol. i. c. 11. The Author of *Anastasius* styles the Mamlouks "that indestructible plague of Egypt, that weed always alive." Time will shew whether, under a Turkish despotism, it can ever be eradicated. Mohammed Ali's colonels are all Mamlouks.

Shereef Ghaleb with every demonstration of hospitality and respect; in return for which, either stimulated by avarice, or, as his apologists say, discovering or suspecting treachery, he secretly ordered his son Tous-soun to seize his host, and convey him to Cairo, while he plundered his palace of immense treasures. A portion of these he transmitted to the Porte; but the Divan is stated to have expressed displeasure, nevertheless, at the nefarious transaction: before any compensation, however, could be made to the Shereef, he had been sent to some unhealthy spot, where he sickened and died.*

Soon after his return to Egypt, Mohammed Ali attempted to put in execution a project he had for some time cherished; the training of his troops after the European system. A mutiny was the result. The conspirators, headed by the agas and other chiefs, marched against the citadel, and, on being fired upon, dispersed themselves over the city, plundered the houses and bazaars, and spread universal terror among the inhabitants. The Franks took up arms for the defence of their own quarter, and were aided by the police. At length, those who remained firm to the Pasha prevailed, and the revolt was suppressed. On this occasion, Mohammed Ali acted with equal justice and prudence: he ordered an exact account to be taken of the losses sustained by those who had been pillaged, and indemnification to be made out of the treasury. He also conciliated by presents the malcontent chiefs and officers; and for the time, the plan of introducing the new tactics was abandoned.

About this time, Mohammed Ali suffered a grievous

* How atrocious soever the conduct of the viceroy, the infamous character of Ghaleb must have precluded either pity or regret at his fate. See MOD. TRAV., *Arabia*, p. 104.

affliction by the death of his son, Toussoin Pasha, who had been replaced in Arabia, a short time before, by his elder brother, Ibrahim. The latter soon succeeded in completely subduing the Wahhabees. To signalise his triumph, and in conformity to a vow which he had made in case of success, he joined the Moslem *hadjies* from Egypt and Syria in the pilgrimage to Mount Arafat, where he sacrificed 3000 sheep,* and largely distributed alms at Mekka. He then departed for Cairo, where he was received with great honours. On this occasion, Mohammed also received rich presents from the Grand Signior, and compliments on his splendid victories. †

The viceroy was now at liberty to turn his attention to the south ; and, under the pretence of putting an end to the civil wars and disorders to which the countries of the Upper Nile had long been a prey, he sent an army, consisting of 4000 troops, under his youngest son, Ismael Pasha, in 1820, with orders to subjugate all the provinces from the Second Cataract to Sennaar inclusive. The expedition was perfectly successful ; and “ the conquest of the extensive countries which, in the reign of Candace, repulsed the formidable legions of Rome, was effected at the expense of not more than 200 soldiers.” † It proved fatal, however,

* See Mod. Trav., Arabia. pp. 272—9.

† He is said to have sent the captive chief of that formidable sect to Constantinople, “ to give the supreme powers the pleasure of beheading him. For this he received the distinguishing title of khan, which carries with it a perpetual immunity from the risk of judicial decapitation.”—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 102.

‡ English's Narrative, p. x. The names of the provinces and kingdoms annexed to the viceroyalty in consequence of this expedition, are thus given : “ Succoot, Machass, Dongola, Shagela, Monasier, Isyout, Rab-a-Tab, Bérber, Shendy, Halfya, and the kingdoms of Sennaar, Darfour, and Kordofan—all subject to the Conqueror of Egypt and Arabia.”

to the young conqueror, whose general conduct is said to have been honourably distinguished by humanity and good faith ; but a single act of severity cost him his life. He had ordered, when at Sennaar, one of the chiefs to be bastinadoed. Watching his opportunity, when Ismael was encamped at a neighbouring village, with a guard of only forty men, the dishonoured chief surprised his lodgings by night, at the head of his party, and stabbed the Pasha to the heart, most of his guards being slain in the struggle.

“ One of the objects of this expedition was, the recruiting the army with the blacks of Sennaar, Shendy, Kordofan, and the neighbouring countries. These unhappy beings were all in the first place vaccinated, and were then instructed in the manual exercise and military evolutions, according to the European mode, by some French officers. The hopes of the Pasha were, however, greatly disappointed in these black troops. They were strong, able-bodied men, and not averse from being taught, but, when attacked by disease, which soon broke out in the camp, they died like sheep infected with the rot. The medical men ascribed the mortality to moral, rather than physical causes. It appeared in numerous instances, that, having been snatched away from their homes and families, they were even anxious to get rid of life ; and such was the dreadful mortality that ensued, that, out of 20,000 of these unfortunate men, 3000 did not remain alive at the end of two years.” *

* Quart. Rev. vol. xxx. p. 490. “ Nothing is more common in Cairo,” adds the Writer, “ than to find the black slaves, *who are treated with all kindness*, complain of being weary of life, and seeking for means to get rid of it : it is also observed, that, on this account, they are more susceptible of disease, especially of the plague.” To this able article we are indebted for most of the par-

Mohammed Ali was resolved, however, to carry the new system into effect. As the blacks had sickened and died, it was determined to set about a regular conscription of the Arab fellahs, about 30,000 of whom were indiscriminately seized, without regard to their fitness, and marched under a military guard to Upper Egypt. Twelve Europeans, chiefly Italians, were employed to train them. Disease for a time considerably thinned the ranks of the new conscripts; but in 1824, they were computed at about 23,000 effective men. They were formed into six regiments, which, when completed, were to consist of five battalions of 800 men. About 15,000 of the troops were tolerably fit for active service; about 8000 were in training; and a new conscription was ordered of 15,000 more. One battalion was to be stationed at Alexandria to be trained as marines for the Pasha's navy, which was to consist of forty vessels of different rates, the seamen being entirely Arabs. The army is officered by about 500 Mamlouks, regularly trained by the French renegade, Col. Séve, formerly aide-de-camp to Marshal Ney, but who, having turned Moslem, has assumed the name of Suliman Bey.* A complete military arsenal had also been established within the citadel of Cairo, under the direction of a Frenchman, including a cannon-foundry and a manufactory of gunpowder.†

ticulars relative to the history of Mohammed Ali; but they are chiefly taken from M. Mengin's "Histoire de l'Egypte sous le Gouvernement de Mohammed Aly." Paris. 1823.

* For a description of this person, see Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. I. p. 255, note.

† Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. pp. 492, 501. In the article on Egypt, in the Encyclop. Metrop., already referred to, the numbers of the Pasha's military and naval force are stated according to a more moderate estimate, viz.

Such was the progress which had been made in the political "regeneration" of Egypt under its present Ruler at the commencement of 1824; and the first result of which was the Egyptian expedition against the Greeks. The desire of adding Candia and the Morea to his dominions, is supposed to have been the motive which impelled Mohammed Ali to take upon himself the burden of prosecuting a war, of which the Porte had become wearied. By the assistance of his troops, the Turks of Candia were enabled to suppress the insurrection in that important island; and early in 1825, the Egyptian fleet, having wintered at Suda, sailed for the Morea, which it has been found more easy to overrun and lay desolate, than to conquer. There seems reason to question whether the discipline of the Egyptian infantry is, after all, of a very high order, or whether they constitute a force very effective or formidable, unless when matched against raw levies or the undisciplined troops of the African kingdoms. It is probable that ere this, Mohammed Ali heartily repents having been urged on by his foreign advisers to engage in a warfare, which has crippled his resources and drained his coffers, and from which he is not

	<i>Infantry.</i>	<i>Cavalry.</i>
In Arabia	1,300	1,200
In Ethiopia, &c.	5,400	3,400
In Upper Egypt (including		
Cairo,	1,100	3,000
In Lower Egypt	2,210	1,460
	<hr/> 10,010	<hr/> 9,060
		Total 19,070

" He has also a park of 30 pieces of artillery and 1,200 cannoniers. Though ambitious of possessing a fleet, the Pasha has not yet been able to raise more than a flotilla of small-armed vessels in the Red Sea, another; composed of transports, at Alexandria; and one or two frigates."

likely to obtain either glory or permanent advantage.*

That Mohammed Ali is an extraordinary man, cannot be disputed. His address, his restless activity and spirit of enterprise, and his superiority to national and religious prejudices, justly entitle him to be considered as one of the most accomplished Turks, and one of the greatest of Mohammedan princes, that have ever vaulted into a throne. When he first assumed the government of Cairo, complete anarchy prevailed in every department. The country was distracted by the conflicting pretensions of the Mamlouks, aided by the Bedouin Arabs, of the Albanians, and of the Turks. The means by which he succeeded in suppressing these disorders, reflect no great honour on either his talents or his character. Still, let the facts be allowed their due weight, that, at that time, "the soldiers were mutinous, the finances were exhausted, property was insecure, agriculture was neglected, and commerce languished."† During the sixteen years of his energetic administration, a mutinous soldiery has been transformed into a regular army; the revenue has been prodigiously increased;‡ new articles of produce

* See, for further details respecting the Egyptian expedition, Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. i. pp. 214—228; 234—8; 254—9.

† Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. p. 408.

‡ "It is generally believed, that the Mamlouks drew from Egypt, in public and private revenues, about a million and a half sterling. While the French were in possession of the country, they varied from year to year according to the state of the war. General Reynier estimates them at from twenty to twenty-five millions of francs (from 833,333/. to 1,041,666/.)"—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 100. The Pasha's revenue in 1821, was estimated at not less than 2,250,000/. Of this, the *miri*, or land-tax, yielded one-half. The other sources of revenue were, the customs (not amounting to more than 15 purses); the resumed lands, *i.e.* almost the whole of the cultivable soil; the tribute from the conquered

have been raised ; " trade has been carried on to an extent previously unknown ; several important public works have been undertaken and executed ; + and the whole country from Alexandria to Syene, has been rendered perfectly safe for the European traveller. " The

territories in Dar-Four, Sennaar, Nubia, and Arabia ; the monopoly of the Egyptian commerce ; and an excise on provisions. The Pasha's disbursements in the same year were computed to be 1,757,840L ; half of which arose from the army expenditure. The remittances to Constantinople amounted to 1,000 purses, one-seventeenth part of the total disbursements, or about 5 per cent. on the revenue ; a tolerably fair allowance for the use of the country.—

Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt.

* See p. 21. In 1821, the mulberry plantations in the Wady Toumlaut, yielded between 18 and 19 cwt. of silk : this project is said to have cost the Pasha upwards of 380,000L. His cotton plantations have been more productive ; but the cotton-mills established at Mehallet-el-Kebir and Mansurah are not likely to answer. In Cairo and Boulac, 800 natives are employed in spinning and weaving ordinary silks and calicoes, while several Swiss and Italians manufacture finer articles of the same kind. The Pasha could purchase English cloths and cottons of a very superior quality, at one-fifth of the cost of these forced manufactures.

+ Among these are, the navigable passage which has been cut through the rocks of the first cataract ; another, round some of the most difficult passes of the second ; and the Canal of Zakazik, by which the plantations of Wady Toumlaut can be watered at pleasure. But his greatest work is the canal of Mahmoudieh, 48 miles in length, 90 feet in breadth, and from 15 to 18 feet in depth, extending from Fouah to the harbour of Alexandria, by which the dangerous passage of the bogaz of Rosetta is avoided. To accomplish this stupendous undertaking, " all the labouring classes of Lower Egypt were put in requisition, and a month's pay advanced them to provide biscuit and provisions. To each village and district was marked out the work allotted to it. The Arabs were marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, under their respective chiefs : the number employed at one time actually exceeded 250,000 men. In about six weeks, the whole excavation was completed, and the people returned home to their respective occupations ; but, in the autumn, a few thousands were called upon to face parts with masonry, and make the whole navigable for vessels of considerable burden. It was opened with great pomp on the 7th of December, 1819.—*Quart. Rev. vol. xxx. p. 502*

innovations of the Pasha," it is remarked, "have probably left the Egyptian labouring peasant, or *fellaḥ*, in the same state nearly in which, as far as history goes, he seems always to have been; with that additional act of tyranny hanging over his head, of being snatched away from his miserable family by the new conscription. Neither have the Pasha's plans been, as yet, in any considerable degree beneficial to the manufactures and general commerce of the country. Without possessing the smallest rudiments of political economy, he innovates for the sake of doing something."* To a great extent, he has taken into his own hands the lands which belonged to the Mam-louks, to the Shiekhhs, and to various public foundations; and as to the lands which he has not yet seized upon, the owner is not master of his produce, not being allowed to dispose of any portion of it till the agents of government have taken what part they may think proper at their own price. The Pasha is the sole vender of produce for exportation. In fact, he may be said to be the sole merchant, manufacturer, farmer-general, and landed proprietor in Egypt. The Author of *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt* has not unjustly characterised him, when he says: "Mohammed Ali Pasha is a Turk, a very Turk: he is surrounded, flattered, and cajoled by a set of foreign adventurers, who put notions into his head, and words into his mouth, which pass for, and in truth become, his own. The race between him and them is, who shall get the most out of the other; and what between force and fraud, I believe the Pasha has the best of it. So far from improving, according to all we could hear and see, he is ruining and impoverishing the country. He has got

* Quart. Rev., vol. xxx. p. 500.

rid of his Turks and Albanians, and flatters himself, his new levy is a master-stroke of policy. He does not *pay*, and will never attach them; and if they do not desert with their arms, and disturb his conquests and possessions above the Cataracts, they will die away as a body, and fall to pieces in a very short period of time." Some of his institutions, however, deserve to survive him; and if they do, they will form his noblest monument. One of the most remarkable is the school established at Boulak, for mathematics, drawing, mensuration, French, and Italian, under the superintidence of Noureddin Othman Effendi, an accomplished young Turk, who resided for some years in France and Italy, by order of the Pasha, for his education. Some young men were also sent to England, a few years ago, with a similar view; and no fewer than forty are said to be now studying at Paris under the direction of Messrs. Jomard and Agoub. The establishment of this institution, as well as of inferior schools; * the protection and indulgence afforded to religious sects of every denomination; the introduction of the vaccine and of the medical and chirurgical practice of Europe; the embellishment of the fountains and reservoirs of Cairo with ornamented marble columns, and other improvements; the opening of the ancient canals, and the digging of new ones; and more especially, the construction of the Canal of Mahmoudieh, which has conferred an inestimable benefit on the country; these are the acts which redound most to the honour of the Pasha, and which may ultimately compensate for the evils entailed upon the country by a grinding despotism.

* A printing-press and a weekly newspaper in Arabic and Italian, as well as a library, are also to be enumerated among the Pasha's Frankish innovations.

At present, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, and the sobriety of the peasantry, there is not perhaps a civilized country in the world, where the labourer is more wretched than in Egypt. Under every change of government, the most abject bondage, the most pitiable oppression has been their portion. In the obscure annals of its early history, it is difficult to discriminate the native tyrant from the foreign usurper ; but intestine wars and struggles between the military and sacerdotal classes, (similar to those which originated the wars of the Mahabarat in Hindostan,) fill up the intervals between foreign invasions. At length, the Persian came, and overthrew for ever the throne of the Pharaohs. Since then, the Greek, the Roman, the Arabian, the Circassian, and, last of all, the Turk, have successively made this country their granary and treasury, and trampled on the miserable natives. Thus, literally, has Egypt been made " the basest of the kingdoms ;" * while its ancient wisdom has given place to the decrepitude and imbecility of a second childhood. " Where are thy wise men ? " † They too, together with " the sceptre of Egypt," have passed away. No native can now decipher a single inscription in the sacred character ; but foreigners from the extremities of western Europe must be called in to disinter the monuments and to unravel the hieroglyphic records of the past. Such is Egypt—a land expressively described as " gifted with the most wonderful bounties, and at the same time accursed with the most noxious calamities of nature," ‡—teeming with plenty, yet scourged with famine and pestilence ; as if the mysterious anathema which appears to hang over this devoted land, were entailed to all generations

* Ezek. xxix. 15. † Isa. xix. 11. Zech. x. 11.

‡ Sir R. Wilson, p. 251,

to come, the moral and intellectual powers of the natives, as well as their physical existence, seeming to be withered and blighted by its influence ;—a land, as its very name has been supposed to import, of blackness and darkness, and, in a moral sense, of the shadow of death.

The present natives of Egypt consist of : 1. The Copts, the supposed descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and more certainly the feeble remnant of a once numerous Christian population. 2. The Fellahs, who compose the bulk of the labouring class, and who are supposed to be a mixture of ancient Egyptians, Arabians, and Syrians : they are rigid Moslems. 3. The Bedouin Arabs,—the same in character, manners, and customs that they are every where, and apparently ever have been since the days of the patriarchs ; regarding with disdain and proud independence all other classes of mankind, but more especially those of their own nation who have degraded themselves by taking up their abodes within walls.* 4. Arabian Greeks ; that is, the descendants of the ancient Greek colonists, who have lost their ancient language, and speak a kind of Arabic.† Many of them are mariners, but, in general, they pursue the inferior and handicraft trades. 5. Jews. To these must be added, as inhabitants of Egypt : 6. Syrian Greeks and Maronites, who have, within the last century, greatly increased in numbers, and have proved successful rivals of the Copts and Jews as merchants

* Arabs are distinguished among themselves, as *al Aarab ahl al hudar*, or *ahl al madar*, i.e. dwellers in walls or in clay ; and *al Aarab ahl al bidar* or *Bidoweeoun*, or *ahl al wibar*, i.e. dwellers in the desert or in tents. The latter were known to the ancients by the name of Scenites, or dwellers in tents.

† About the year 722, the use of the Greek tongue was prohibited by the Saracens.

and agents. 7. Armenians. 8. Turks. 9. Franks. 10. Mamlouks. 11. Moggrebins, or Western Arabs. 12. Ethiopians, and other Africans.

To ascertain the respective numbers of these different divisions of the population, with any precision, is next to impossible; but the following may be regarded, perhaps, as a sufficient approximation, to give some idea of their relative proportion.

Copts	160,000*
Arabs ellahs	2,250,000
Bedouin Arabs	150,000†
Arabian Greeks	25,000‡
Jews	20,000
Syrians	20,000
Armenians	10,000
Turks and Albanians	20,000
Franks or Levantines	4,000
Mamlouks	500
• Ethiopians, &c.	7,500

* We have stated the number of Copts, at p. 119, at only 100,000 (*i.e.* 20,000 families), on the authority of the Rev. Mr. Jowett, who received his information from Hanna Taouil, the chief secretary to the Pasha for the Copts. (Researches in the Mediterr. p. 114.) M. Malte Brun, however, states them at 30,000 families, or 200,000 souls; and M. Mengin reckons them to amount to at least 160,000.

† Volney says: "It is calculated that the different tribes of them in Egypt might form a body of 30,000 horsemen; but these are so dispersed and disunited, that they are considered only as robbers and vagabonds." (vol. i. p. 78.) Their numbers can be merely conjectured, and must be continually varying; but, supposing Volney's calculation to be near the truth, the total Bedouin population cannot be less than five times the number of horsemen.

‡ These are stated, in the article on Mengin's History of Egypt, in the Quart. Rev. (vol. xxx. p. 505), to amount to 5000; but, whether families or males only are meant, is not specified. In like manner, the Greek Christians are reckoned at 4000, the Jews at 4000, the Armenians at 2000, and the Franks at 1000. It seems pretty clear, that, in the last case, families cannot be intended; and we have therefore supposed, that houses are uniformly referred to. M. Mengin reckons, in Cairo, eight persons to each house, and in the provinces, four. We have taken them at five to a family.

Of the Egyptian Arabs, who, under the name of *fellahs*, or husbandmen, form the bulk of the population, the fullest description that we have seen, is contained in the MS. Journal of Dr. Hume, as given by Mr. Walpole.

"The lower orders of Egyptian Arabs appeared to me," says this Traveller, "to be a quiet, inoffensive people, with many good qualities. They are, in general, tall and well made, possessing much muscular strength, yet of a thin, spare habit. Their complexion is very dark, their eyes black and sparkling, and their teeth good.* Upon the whole, they are a fine race of men in their persons; and they are more active in agricultural employments than we should be led to imagine from seeing the better sort of them in towns, smoking and passing their time in listless indolence. The dress of the poorer Arabs consists simply of a pair of loose blue or white cotton drawers, with a long blue tunic, which serves to cover them from the neck to the ankles, and a small red woollen scull-cap, round which they occasionally wind a long strip of white woollen. They are sometimes so poor as not to be able to purchase even this last article. By means of his tunic, or long, loose outer garment of dyed cotton, the wealthy Arab conceals from the proud and domineering Turk, a better and richer dress, consisting sometimes of the long and graceful Moslem habit of Damascus silk,

* "In general, the Egyptian peasants reach the height of five feet eight, and many among them attain to five feet ten or eleven inches. They are muscular without being fleshy and corpulent. Their skin, tanned by the sun, is almost black, but their countenances have nothing disagreeable. The greatest part of them have heads of a fine oval, large and projecting foreheads, and, under a dark eye-brow, a black, sunken, but brilliant eye; the nose large, but not aquiline; well-shaped mouths, and, without exception, fine teeth."—VOLNEY, c. 6.

covered with a fine cloth coat with short sleeves ; and at other times, particularly among the Alexandrians and those connected with the sea, of a blue cloth short jacket, curiously and richly embroidered with gold, and white trowsers reaching just below the knee, the legs bare.

" The articles of furniture in the house of an Egyptian Arab, are extremely few. The rooms of all people of decent rank have a low sofa, called a *divan*, extending in general completely round three sides of the room : it is about nine inches or a foot from the floor, and is covered with mattresses, the back being formed by large square cushions, which are more or less ornamented, according to the wealth of the owner. The beds are generally laid on a strong wicker-work made of the branches of the date-tree, or of mattresses placed on a raised platform at the end of the room. For their meals, they have a very low table, round which they squat on the mats covering the floor ; this table is sometimes of copper tinned. They have no other furniture except culinary utensils. The mats are made of straw or of the flags of the branches of the date-tree, and are very neatly worked in figures. They are very durable, but harbour numbers of fleas.

" The poorer sort of Arabs can seldom afford to eat animal food, but subsist chiefly on rice made into a *pilau*, and moistened with the rancid butter of the country. Their bread is made of the *holcus durra* (millet). I have seen them sit down to a hearty meal of boiled horse-beans steeped in oil. When the date is in season, they subsist on the fruit ; and in summer, the vast quantities of gourds of all kinds, and melons, supply them with food. The better sort eat mutton and fowls, though sparingly. At a dinner given to me by an Arab in the Delta, I observed one dish was

formed of a quarter of mutton stuffed with almonds and raisins. Their drink is the milk of buffaloes,* and the water of the Nile, preserved and purified in cisterns. None but the higher orders, or those of absolute lives, ever taste wine. Grapes grow in abundance at Rosetta, but little wine is made in Egypt. †

“ The Arabs carry on the common trades of civilized life, such as carpenters and smiths, but in a very un-skilful and imperfect manner. They have a few manufactories: the principal one is the cotton cloth, which is chain-woven and very strong; a great part of it is dyed blue. There is a coarse silk-manufacture, of a thin, open texture, with a wide border of various colours, but generally dark, which the better sort sometimes wear instead of what we call linen; but that commonly worn by the superior ranks, is a manufacture somewhat resembling white crape, but a little thicker, with a silk border: it soon acquires a yellow colour by washing.

“ With respect to the economical arrangement of their families, we found that the Arabs have seldom more than two wives; commonly but one. The second wife is always subservient to the elder in the affairs of the house. The women colour their nails, the inside of their hands, and the soles of their feet, with a deep orange colour, sometimes a rosy colour, ‡

* The flesh of the buffalo is seldom eaten in the Levant; the milk is highly esteemed in Asia Minor and Syria, as well as in Egypt. A few buffaloes are killed in the winter at Aleppo; but the meat is dried or made into hams, and not eaten fresh. The salted tongues were formerly an article of trade.

† See page 23.

‡ The colour of the hennah or hinneh (see p. 26) is properly a roseate hue, but it afterwards changes, we believe, to an orange. The Author of Anastasius has the following note on the word: “ Henna, a red juice extracted from a plant, with which the Egyp-

by means of henna. They likewise apply a black dye to their eye-lashes, eye-brows, and the hair of their head : * a brilliancy, it is supposed, is thus given to the eye, and the sight is improved. The women in general can neither read nor write, but the better sort are taught embroidery and ornamental needle-work, in which they mostly pass their time.

" The features of the Arab-Egyptian women are by no means regular. In general, the cheek-bones are high ; the cheeks broad and flabby ; the mouth large ; the nose short, thick, and flat, though in some it is prominent ; the eyes black, but wanting animation, owing in some measure to disease. The skin is of a disagreeable mulatto colour. The hair, which is commonly black, is matted, and often smeared with a stinking ointment : it is arranged in two or three divisions, and suffered to fall down the back.† At a

tians dye their women, and the Persians their horses." The custom is of high antiquity, and some of the mummies have been found with the finger-nails died with henna.

* The *kohol* (or *kohl*) used for this purpose, also called *surmeh*, is an almost impalpable black powder, and is used to tinge the eyelids, under the idea that it strengthens the sight. Dr. Russell describes it as kind of lead ore. It is brought from Persia, and is so much in request, that the Oriental poets, in allusion to the instrument used in applying it, say, the mountains of Ispahan have been worn away with a bodkin."—RUSSELL's *Aleppo*, vol. i. p. 367.

† The Egyptian bride of Anastasius, the daughter of a Mamlouk, is thus portrayed : " Properly steamed, jointed, and pumiced (at the bath), she next went through the labours of the toilet. Several hours were employed in twisting her hair into whipcord ; in adding two hundred and fifty false plaits to the hundred and fifty which grew from her head ; and in forming the joint mass into an edifice so ponderous, that a second head, merely for use, would have been very acceptable. A pair of eye-brows, sufficiently notable in themselves, were only dismissed the artificer's hands after being shaped into two exact semicircles ; and a pair of eyes, expressive enough without foreign assistance, were not deemed to possess all their requisite powers, until framed in two black cases of *surmeh*. Henna,

distance, the long, flowing robe which covers them to the heels, though it may conceal deformity, seems, by the easiness of its drapery, to heighten their stature, and even to render their air graceful. Indeed, I have never seen any women who have displayed so much easiness of manner or so fine a carriage, being superior in this respect even to the women of Circassia. Probably, the elegance and dignity of their gait may arise from the habit of carrying every thing on their heads. They are taller, in general, than our European women. From their numerous and graceful gestures, I supposed their conversation might be pleasing in spite of the shrillness of their voices. As the army was passing through the villages, they mounted upon the house-tops, and made a confused noise like the cackling of cranes, which was interpreted to us as indicating wishes for our success."

The Ethiopian women brought to Egypt for sale, are described by Dr. Hume as exceedingly beautiful, though quite black; their features are regular, and their eyes are full of expression.* The Circassian women, on the contrary, disappointed him. They are brought to Egypt in great numbers, and are ex-

the symbol of joy, already most profusely lavished upon the epistles which communicated my marriage to my patron's numerous clients, but bestowed in still greater profusion on my bride's own plump and lustrous person, made it emulate the colour which I suppose Isis displayed, when doomed to roam through Egypt's plains in the undignified shape of a red cow.... Like other plants kept carefully secluded from the sun, this prisoner of the harem certainly had a sickly, pallid hue. Bounded by its sable locks, her wan, colourless face might aptly be compared to the moon, surrounded by dark conglomeration clouds; but from the midst of this unvaried hue, her large, black, languishing eyes shot forth glances like lightning in a lurid sky."—Vol. ii. pp. 59, 62.

* The price of these women was from 60 to 100 dollars, while Arab women might be purchased at so low a price as ten.

posed to sale in different markets. "Their beauty," he says, "did not equal what I had anticipated from the fineness of their skin. They were inclining to corpulence, their faces were round and inexpressive, but the neck, bosom, arms, and hands were of great fairness and delicacy. Some of the Coptic women," it is added, "are fair and beautiful. The features of a Copt are broader and more inclining to plumpness than those of the Arab. These people are certainly the most intelligent in Egypt, and are better educated than the Arabs." *

This anomalous and equivocal race, the supposed descendants and representatives of the ancient Egyptians, have been very variously described. Volney remarks, in proof of their supposed descent, that we find them characterized by "a sort of yellowish dusky complexion, which is neither Grecian nor Arabian; a puffed visage, swoln eyes, flat noses, and thick lips; in short, the exact countenance of a mulatto." Malte Brun gives them "a darker complexion than the Arabs; † flat forehead; hair partaking of the woolly character; eyes large, and raised at the angles; short, though not flat nose; wide, unmeaning mouth, far from the nose; thick lips; a thin beard; ungraceful shape, bandy legs, and long, flat toes." Dr. Richardson, on the contrary, remarks that, "neither in their features nor in their complexion, have the Copts the smallest resemblance to the figures of the ancient Egyptians represented in the tombs at Thebes or in any other part of Egypt;" and he supposes, with

* Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 396—400.

† This is clearly an error, whether chargeable on the Author or his Translator, we have not the means of ascertaining. Dr. Hume speaks of a Coptic lady at Cairo, who was remarkably fair as well as handsome.

great probability, that they are a mixed race, bearing in their physiognomy the marks of an alliance to the great Circassian family, and obviously distinguished from the children of Mizraim, the aboriginal Egyptians. The Nubians, on the other hand, who are found in the island of Elephantine, are described by the learned Traveller as "perfectly black, but without possessing the least of the negro feature; the lips small, the nose aquiline; the expression of countenance, sweet and animated; and bearing a strong resemblance to that which is generally found portrayed in the temples and tombs of the ancient Egyptians." He also noticed "several families of a *third* race, differing both in complexion and in feature from the inhabitants of Assouan and of Nubia. Their hue was more of a bronze or reddish brown, resembling mahogany; approaching nearer, both in feature and in complexion, to that which is called the head of the Young Memnon, and to the figures in the tomb at Biban-el-Melook, than any of the human race that ever fell under my observation. They are as different from the Copts in Egypt, both in hue and feature, as a Hindoo is from a Frenchman."* Upon the whole,

* Richardson, vol. i. pp. 90; 361. Speaking of the statues at Thebes, Dr. R. says: "The countenance is generally well executed, the lower eye-lid particularly delicate. The lips are generally fleshy and large, and approach considerably to those of the negro, as, in some, do also the nose and forehead: in others, and those by far the finest, excepting in the lips, there is not the slightest resemblance (to the negro) in the countenance, though a great deal both in the legs and the arms, the hands and the feet."—Vol. ii. p. 117. Volney cites a remarkable passage in Herodotus, to the effect, that he believed the Colchians to be an Egyptian colony, because, like them, they had black skin and frizzled hair. From which, the ~~Frenchman~~ Frenchman jumps to the conclusion, that the Egyptians were real negroes, of the same species as all the natives of Africa, and that to the negro race we owe our arts and sciences, and even the use of

there seems every reason to believe, that the ancient Egyptians were, as regards colour, blacks, although essentially distinguished in their physiognomy from the negro; and if so, the Copts can have little claim to be regarded as their descendants. That they are a mixed race, may be safely concluded, nor can there be any great difficulty in determining to what nation they bear the closest affinity. "How are we astonished," remarks Volney, "to behold the present barbarism and ignorance of the Copts, descended from the profound genius of the Egyptians and the brilliant imagination of the Greeks! On the one hand, the form of their letters and the greater part of their words, demonstrate that the Greek nation, during the thousand years it continued in Egypt, has left deep marks of its power and influence; but, on the other, the Coptic alphabet has five letters, and the language a number of words, which may be considered as the remains of the ancient Egyptian." Compared with other languages, it is said to exhibit some feeble indications of an ancient connexion with the Hebrew and the Ethiopian, while it has received a mixture of modern Arabic.* When it is recollect, however,

speech!! The fact is, that the African races differ not less widely than the Asiatic; and between the Ethiopian and the true negro, there is as wide an interval as between the Circassian and the Calmuck.

* Arabic is now the language of Egypt, while the Italian is much used both by Franks and Copts. The Coptic is for the most part a dead language, being understood by few, though used in the service of the Church. Malte Brun states, however, on the authority of a native Copt, that it is still commonly spoken in the town of Nagadéh. "Two dialects of this idiom, the Memphitic or Bahritic, and the Saidic, are known to us by different religious books written in them; a third, the Bashmooric, has occasioned great discussions among philologists, and they are not yet agreed about its nature and origin."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 105.

that Greece was colonised from Egypt; that, under the Ptolemies, who repaired their temples, the Egyptians and the Greeks worshipped at the same altars; and that, subsequently to the establishment of Christianity, the two nations were still more closely blended by a common faith, till ecclesiastical jealousies produced a schism; the conclusion seems inevitable, that the Copt is in fact an Egyptian Greek, with not less Grecian blood in his veins, perhaps, than the Albanian Greek of the Morea or Hydra.

The Copts and the Jews are the general shopkeepers in Egypt. "The unhappy Israelites," says Dr. Hume, "sharing with the Christians the undisguised scorn and contempt of all ranks of Moslems, drag out a miserable existence. They are easily distinguished both from the Copt and the Arab, by their prominent nose and chin, and by being darker than the Copt, but not so dark as the Arab." They compete with the Copts, in the large towns, for situations in the customs, and as brokers and agents. The Turk, the Bedouin, and the Levantine claim no description in this place.

The peculiar interest attaching to the physical geography and history of this ancient land, has led us to detain the reader thus long with these preliminary details; but they have, perhaps, felt impatient to enter upon a topographical account of the country itself. This will properly commence with an account of its Christian capital, which once formed "the connecting link between the Egyptian and the Grecian world."

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION.

ALEXANDRIA.

“ IT may justly be said,” remarks Norden, in commencing his description of this city in 1737, “ that, in the new city of Alexandria, we find a poor orphan, whose sole inheritance has been the venerable name of its father. The vast extent of the ancient city is contracted, in the new, to a little neck of land between the two ports. The most superb temples are changed into plain mosques; the most magnificent palaces into houses of a bad structure; the royal seat is become a prison for slaves; an opulent and numerous people has given way to a little number of foreign traders and to a multitude of wretches that are the servants of those on whom they depend. A place formerly so famous for the extent of its commerce, is no longer any thing more than a mere place of embarking. In fine, it is not a phoenix that revives from its own ashes: it is, at most, a reptile sprung from the dirt, the dust, and corruption with which the Koran has infected the whole country.” *

This description is rather too darkly coloured. Although reduced to a population of 16,000 souls, Alexandria, prior to the French invasion, still carried on a considerable trade, being the emporium for all the commerce between Egypt and Constantinople, Leghorn, Venice, and Marseilles.† Its appearance, indeed, is most melancholy and wretched, resembling, at a distance, according to one traveller, with its ~~ruins~~ and grey, flat-roofed houses, a town laid

* Norden’s Travels, by Templeman, folio, p. 23.

† Malte Brun. “ Except,” says Volney, “ the rice of Damietta.”

waste by the enemy. On one side of the city extends the desert which leads to Rosetta, and on the other, the great desert of Barca. "With the exception of some solitary palms, which look like insulated pillars, no trace of vegetation is perceived on the coast. The ancient city lies in rubbish. The enemy has levelled its towers, and broken down its walls; and the wind from the desert has laid it under a load of sand; so that scarcely a single fragment that appears, can be referred to its own original."

The small sandy stripe of land on which the modern town is built, and which forms the double harbour, partly consists of the artificial mound by which, in the time of the Ptolemies, the Island of Pharos was joined to the continent. The old or western port, anciently called Eunostus and the port of Africa, has much deeper water than the eastern, or port of Asia; but the Turks admit no Christian vessels to enter it, and it is scarcely ever used, except by the grain-boats from Rosetta, which come close up to the mole, and lie there in security. The entrance is covered by a neck of land called *Ras-el-teen* (the cape of figs): it is difficult of access, and has been in part filled up by the Turks, the ballast of vessels having been continually thrown into it for the last two hundred years. The new port is a mere roadstead, much exposed to the north winds, and is so clogged up with sand, that, in stormy weather, ships are liable to bilge, and, losing their cables, to drive against each other, or to dash against the mole.* The changes which the coast has undergone, have, probably, materially affected the

* Of this, Volney mentions a fatal instance which occurred about eighteen years before he wrote, when two and forty vessels were dashed to pieces on the mole in a gale from the N.W.; and numbers have since been lost at different times.

safety of this harbour." Yet still, Alexandria, says Sir Robert Wilson, "must be pronounced the key to Egypt, although insulated by water and desert from the surrounding country, since in its harbour alone, security can be found for shipping of any burden throughout the year. The flat, shoaly coast of Egypt, and the boisterous weather, will not admit of vessels riding in safety any where else." † Unless, however, it were completely insulated by the sea, (a project which is represented to be very feasible,) the city must always remain very much exposed to surprise from an invading force; and as the supply of water is liable to be cut off, it can never be made available as a military position. ‡ It is only by the canal which conveys the waters of the Nile into the reservoirs in the time of inundation, Volney remarks, that Alexandria can be considered as connected with Egypt. From its situation without the Delta, § and the nature of its soil, it really belongs to the Libyan desert; and we do not

* "The ancient promontory, the situation of the modern Pharillon, has been worn lower and destroyed by the waves; and its ruins have been carried into the interior of the harbour, where the vessels have long been in the habit of discharging their ballast."—*MALTE BRUN*, vol. iv. p. 65. "It will, perhaps, be asked," says Volney, "why they do not repair the New Port. The answer is, that, in Turkey, they destroy every thing, and repair nothing."

† *Wilson's Egypt*, p. 247.

‡ "The whole city almost is hollowed, and has subterraneous canals reaching to the Nile, by which water is conveyed into private houses, where, by degrees, it grows clear, and lets fall a sediment. This, the owners of houses and their families are wont to make use of; for what is brought directly by the river Nile is so muddy and foul, that it occasions many and various diseases; but the common people are obliged to be content with it, as there is no fountain in the whole city."—*CÆSAR'S Commentaries*, cited in *Norden's Egypt*, notes.

§ Alexandria is about 12 miles W. of the Canopic branch of the Nile; in lat. $31^{\circ} 12' N.$; long. $30^{\circ} 18' E.$

really enter Egypt till we arrive at Rosetta, where the sands peculiar to Africa terminate, and the black, fat, and loamy soil, the distinguishing characteristic of Egypt, begins. The environs of Alexandria are flat, sandy, and sterile, without trees and without houses, the only vegetation consisting of the *kali*, and the palm-trees which grow on the banks of the canal.

In this dreary tract, now presenting the aspect of hideous barrenness and desolation, once stood the second city, in rank, in the Christian world. According to Pliny, it was about fifteen miles in circuit, and contained a population of 300,000 citizens, and at least as many slaves. From the gate of the sea, ran one magnificent street, 2,000 feet broad, the whole length of the city, to the Canopic gate; commanding a view, at each end, of the shipping, either in the Mediterranean or in the Mareotic lake. Another street of equal length intersected this at right angles. The suburb of Nicopolis extended along the sea-shore: it took its name from the victory gained by Octavius Cæsar over Antony, and in time rose to a considerable town. The city also spread along the southern shores of the Lake Mareotis. A spacious circus was formed without the Canopic gate for chariot-races; and on the east, there was a splendid gymnasium more than 600 feet in length. The air of Alexandria was anciently deemed so salubrious, that Celsus mentions it as a common practice with physicians, to send their consumptive patients thither; and Quintus Curtius praises the serenity of the climate.* The banks of the lake were formerly celebrated for their vineyards, which produced the excellent wine mentioned by the

* " *Nullo fere die Alexandria solem serenum non vident propter aërem perpetuo ibi tranquillum.*"—Cited by Van Egmpt, vol. ii. p. 124.

Roman poets.* It is very evident, that, through the neglect of the canal and the conversion of the *Pales Mareotis* into a marsh, the country must have undergone a very material change; and the sands have gained upon the cultivable soil, in proportion to the disappearance of the vegetation and the diminished moisture of the atmosphere. Van Egmont states, indeed, that, along the sides of the canal, there were, in his time, several cultivated spots covered with verdure during the whole winter, and that they might easily obtain, by irrigation, a sufficient quantity of land to repay them for keeping the canals and trenches in repair.† Even here, the appearance of the country evidently undergoes a considerable variation according to the season. Captain Light, who landed at Alexandria in February (1814), says: "The season of the year in which I arrived, is the most agreeable to Europeans. The country outside the gate of the outer walls leading to Rosetta, was green as far as the Lake Mareotis, and part, in the neighbourhood of Aboukir, cultivated. The wild flowers growing among the grass spread a delightful fragrance." ‡

At the time that Alexandria submitted to the general of Omar, it consisted, according to the Arabian geographers, of three distinct towns; Menna, or the

* "Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico."—HORACE, Car. i. 37. So Virgil, (Georg. ii.):

"Sunt Thasicæ vites, sunt et Marcotides albae."

The Mareotic wines are also praised by Columella, Atheneus, and Strabo.

† Van Egmont's Travels, vol. ii. p. 138. This Traveller goes so far as to speak of the country bordering on the canal as "very beautiful, and tolerably cultivated by the inhabitants of Alexandria." A statement which would seem to be as much overcharged on the one side, as the representation of Volney on the other.

‡ Light's Travels, p. 6.

Port, Nekita (Nicopolis), and Scanderia, the city properly so called. In the report made to the khalif by the Saracen general, it is stated to have contained 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres or public edifices, and 12,000 shops, with a population which may be estimated from its including 40,000 Jews. From that period it gradually decayed; yet, if the statement of Eutychius may be depended upon, that, at the beginning of the tenth century, 200,000 of the inhabitants perished in one year, it must still have retained an immense population.* In the thirteenth century, its commerce had somewhat revived; but the discovery of the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, towards the close of the fifteenth century, finally destroyed its commercial greatness.

The modern town is thus described by Dr. Richardson, who visited Egypt, in company with Earl Belmore, in 1816-18. "Alexandria is surrounded with a high stone wall, entered by four gates, and contains about 14,000 inhabitants.† The streets are narrow, dirty, and irregular. The houses are from three to four stories high, strong and substantial, but of a remarkably dull appearance, from their having few windows to the streets. The bazars are few, but are amply provided with cloth, tobacco, sherbet, and vegetables. The wharf presents an active scene of ships building, vessels taking in their cargoes, with heaps of grain and bales of goods piled up along the shore. But the European stranger is particularly

* See Ency. Metrop., art. Alexandria.

† See page 59, where a smaller estimate is given, but which does not include foreigners. The variations in the estimates, from 5,000 to 20,000, may be attributed partly to the constant influx of strangers, and still more to the devastations of the plague. Turks, Copts, and Jews, form the basis of the stationary population.

struck with the crowds of naked porters that ply their busy task, and the swarms of horrid beggars that constantly importune him and harrow up his feelings. During the season of filling the cisterns (September), the traveller can hardly stop for a moment without being jostled by a leathern bag of water, hanging on the lank sides of a raw-boned camel, towering along in her majestic pace to deposit it in the reservoirs. One troop after another occupies the streets during the whole of the day. Crowds of human beings, half naked, parade the streets also, with leathern sacks full of water, suspended from their shoulders, and resting upon their naked back and breast. Sometimes, with a cup in their hands, they call upon you to purchase a draught ; at other times, they pass quietly on and deposit their burden in the reservoir, along with their fellow-labourers the camels."*

The reader will not be displeased to have the picture filled up by some additional touches from a female pencil.

" It would be difficult to express the sensations which I experienced when, for the first time, I passed through the streets of Alexandria. It would require the talents of a Hogarth to paint all the various scenes of this magic lantern. What bustle, what confusion is in these narrow streets, continually blocked up with an innumerable multitude of camels, mules, and asses ! The cries of the drivers, incessantly calling to the passengers to take care of their naked feet ; the vociferations and grimaces of the jugglers ; the splendid costumes of the Turkish functionaries ; the picturesque habit of the Bedouins, their long beards, and the grave and regular countenances of the Arabs ; the nudity of

* Richardson's Travels, vol. i. pp. 22-25.

some Santons, round whom the crowd throngs ; the multitude of negro slaves ; the howlings of the female mourners accompanying some funeral procession, tearing their hair and beating their breasts, by the side of the noisy train of a marriage ; the cries of the *mussins* from the tops of the minarets, summoning the people to prayers ; lastly, the afflicting picture of wretches dying with misery and want, and troops of savage dogs* which pursue and harass you :—all this, every moment, arrests the progress and attracts the attention of the astonished traveller. The Franks at Alexandria, as in all the other towns in the East, occupy a distinct quarter. The street of the Franks, which is the finest and largest in this city, is also much less noisy than the others. The houses, though built in the fashion of the Levant, have, notwithstanding, a European appearance which we do not meet with any where else in Egypt.† The other streets are very narrow, and full of coffee-houses and bazars.

“ The European merchants established here, complain much, and with reason, of the present state of

* The dogs in Egypt are very numerous, and many hundreds were shot by the French in different towns. They are very savage at Alexandria, being, according to Dr. Hume, a mixture of the dog and the jackal ; they are of a light sandy colour.

† “ About twenty Foreign merchants (1814) inhabit the Frank *okellahs* ; a word derived from *el kalaat*, a castle, and well applied, as they are buildings generally of considerable size, built in a square, enclosed by the four sides of the *okellah*, to which there is only one entrance. Thus, the communication is quickly cut off with the town in case of plague ; and in any sudden tumult of the Mohammedan population, is easily barricaded. Formerly, the *okellahs* contained the consulates of the foreign nations trading with Alexandria : they were held sacred by the Turks, and afforded shelter to criminals and others who fled to them for ~~protection~~. There were only two English houses of commerce at Alexandria.” *Light's Travels*, 4to, p. 6.

affairs : the commerce is entirely in the hands of the Pasha. Society at Alexandria offers but very few resources ; yet, some pleasure might be found in it from the considerable number of European inhabitants and the frequent arrival of travellers, if there were more harmony among the persons of whom it is composed ; but so many different interests, joined to all the gossiping of a little country town, do not render an abode in this city very attractive.”*

Were there, indeed, no other drawback on the pleasures of a residence in Alexandria, the insalubrity of the air would be sufficient to deter most persons from taking up their abode here from choice. From the constant action of the sun upon the naked rock

* “ Recollections of Egypt by the Baroness Von Minutoli,” 12mo, pp. 5–13. At the time this lady visited Egypt with her husband (1820), the leading personages, as enumerated by her, were : M. Drovetti, *ci-devant* French consul-general, and collector of the “ Royal Egyptian Museum at Turin,” which he sold to his Sardinian Majesty for 400,000 francs. Mr. Salt, the British consul-general. M. Boghos (or Boghos Yousouf), first dragoman to the Pasha, and minister of commerce, descended from an ancient Armenian family of Smyrna : all business, presentations, and orders pass through his hands, and he receives a 30th on the exports of merchandize. M. Anastasi, a Greek, the Swedish consul, and a collector of antiquities. M. Boghti, a Levantine educated at Rome, consul-general of Sweden : it is said to be by his advice, that the Pasha has introduced several European institutions, manufactures, cotton-spinning, &c. Probably, the state of society at Alexandria had undergone some change since Captain Light visited it in 1814, or it may vary with the season. His account is as follows : “ The Frank society at Alexandria holds a medium between Eastern and European manners. Visits are always ended by the introduction of coffee, which the visiter is to consider as a hint that it is time for him to go. The carnival is celebrated ; balls are given ; and I found *coteries* and *commerges* usual in confined circles. The meals are taken, as in southern Europe, at mid-day, and followed by a supper at nine o’clock.... The peace and order of the city are improved by its change of masters, owing to the strictness and severity of the Pasha.”—LIGHT’s *Travels*, p. 9.

and sand, the air is generally hot and sultry; and when the heats decline, the plague begins, and rages more or less for nearly nine months out of the twelve.* Nor is that which bears the name of plague by way of pre-eminence, the only one. Swarms of winged enemies, the flies by day, the mosquitoes by night, wage perpetual war upon the inhabitants, and recal the memory of Pharaoh's punishment.† It was thought that the reproduction of the Lake would materially promote the healthiness of Alexandria, the insalubrity of the air being attributed chiefly to the stagnant water in the marshes. The representations of the most recent travellers afford, however, no ground for supposing that it has had the effect anticipated.‡

The site of the ancient city, which is to the south

* In 1813, 7000 persons are stated to have been carried off by the plague, out of a population previously estimated at 12,000.—See LIGHT's *Travels*, p. 6. In 1821, the Baroness Minutoli states (p. 253), " notwithstanding the precautions taken by the Europeans, one-third of the *Christian* inhabitants were carried off." The proportion of the other inhabitants who fell victims to its ravages, must have been much more considerable.

† "The most strange, the most disgusting sight in Alexandria, is this—the eyes and mouths of all the children are literally embanked with flies. Their mouths are beset as if they were the mouths of honey-bottles; their eyes are too filthy for description." HENNIKER's *Notes*, p. 16.

‡ Captain Light states, that the division between the Lake Mareotis and that of Aboukir, has been repaired by the Turks, and an attempt made to prevent the passage of the water into the former; but the measures taken were insufficient. The sea still passes through, and forms an expanse of shallow water, which the evaporation by the sun changes into salt, of which great quantities are collected on the banks. The causeway separating the two lakes is defended by a single gun; and a guard under a *bouluk-bdshi* is stationed near it, in a wooden building half in ruins."—LIGHT's *Travels*, p. 13.

of the present town, presents an immense field of confused ruins: over a space of from six to seven miles in circuit, is spread an assemblage of broken columns, obelisks, and shapeless masses of architecture, rising frequently to a greater height than the surrounding houses. Here, amid the heaps of rubbish, surrounded by gardens planted with the orange, the citron, and the palm, are seen some churches, mosques, and monasteries, and three small clusters of dwellings, formerly three towns, one of which is surrounded with a wall, and is called the Fort. Traces are discernible of ancient streets in straight lines; and some ruins of colonnades mark the sites of palaces. One of the obelisks called Cleopatra's Needle, alone stands erect amid the wide-spread devastation. The greater part of this area is surrounded with a high and double wall, which has generally been supposed to be the work of the Saracens; while M. Malte Brun imagines that it marks the dimensions of the ancient city, and ascribes it to the Romans.* Ruins, however, extend

* "The Commission of the French seemed to regard this enclosure as the work of the Arabians. Such also is the opinion of Niebuhr, Wansleb, and the greater number of travellers. Pococke, however, thinks that the Arabians built only the inner wall; and Baron de Tott believes that nothing about it is modern except some local reparations. To us, this enclosure appears precisely to represent the space of 30 *stadia* in length, and 10 in breadth, which Strabo assigns as the dimensions of the city of Alexander and the Ptolemies. Only that part of the wall which extends from the Rosetta-gate towards the Roman tower in a direction from E.S.E. to W.N.W. seems to pass through the ancient quarter of Bruchium, which, filled with palaces and monuments, extended quite round the New Harbour. Might not this part of the wall be the work of Caracalla? Even the forts which exist to the north and south of the ancient city, seem to be those erected by that tyrant. We also think that many of the ruins date from the epoch of the capture of the city by the cruel Aurelian."—MALTE BRUN, vol. iv. p. 66. Norden remarks, that the walls are not, through-

on every side far beyond this enclosure. For a lively and picturesque description of this impressive scene, we are indebted to a traveller to whom we shall have frequent occasion to acknowledge our obligations.

" Impatient to explore the venerable ground, we landed at an early hour, and having passed through the Khan, where a herd of hungry camels were baiting, we mounted our asses, passed without the gate of the city, and entered immediately on the field of ruins.. Before us, in the centre of the scene, enlivened by a few spreading palms, stood a Greek and a Capuchin convent, with a buffalo turning a water-wheel ; a round column rose on our right, and a tall obelisk on our left ; but, excepting these, all was height alternating with hollow, mound rising over mound, with, here and there, the end of a beautiful column, or the angle of an enormous stone, cropping out, to break the continuity of the drifted sand, unconsolidated by aught of vegetable growth.

" We directed our course to the gate of the Capuchin convent, where we found the superior, a venerable old man, a native of Genoa, passing here under the name of Padre Carlo, who politely offered to shew us the site of the celebrated church of St. Athanasius. It lies to the N.E. of the convent, and is quite contiguous. The bases of many columns of ordinary magnitude marked the remains of an extensive edifice ; but, if fragments of colossal grandeur exist, they are all buried in the sand. He said, that the French had

out, of the same breadth, height, or construction. " Some may be about 20 feet thick, while others are more or less ; their height reaches to 30 or 40 feet. The wall near the obelisk had, on the inside, a wall almost in the same taste as that which we see in the enclosure of the palace of Aurelian at Rome."—p. 6. He concludes, however, from the marbles built into the walls, that they were erected by the Saracens.

made excavations in the site of this celebrated cathedral, and had discovered something of great value, but his memory did not serve him to state what it was ; not even though the word sarcophagus was whispered in his ear. Close by lay three highly-finished columns of syenite, or large-grained Egyptian granite, which probably formed part of the same building. The reverend Cicerone, however, informed me, that these belonged to the baths of Cleopatra, to whom, I afterwards found, every thing is attributed, of which the real owner is unknown. Continuing the route which the friar had pointed out, I came to the Persian wheel, which was drawn by two buffaloes, and raised water to fill the cisterns for the supply of the city. This can be done only once a-year, and but for a short time, when the Nile is at its height ; but the cisterns, being then filled, are sufficient to supply the city with excellent water all the year round. The same was the case with ancient Alexandria ; and the same cisterns which held the water for the ancient city, also contain it for the modern. A great part of Alexandria stood upon arches, under which the cisterns were formed : these arches still exist, and are stated to be partly Greek and partly Roman.* Continuing the

* See note at page 182. Pococke mentions these cisterns as the most extraordinary remains of ancient Alexandria. They are thus described by Van Egmont. " We next visited some of the reservoirs or cisterns, which are extended under the greater part of the ancient city. You enter them through the apertures made in the walls. They are all covered with arches supported by pillars. The form and architecture of them are very curious ; but they are not all of the same dimensions. One of them was remarkably spacious, and its arched ceiling is supported by 14 pillars. Others we saw, which consisted of three ranges of arches one above another, after the manner of the ancient aqueducts. But the greater part of these cisterns rested on pillars, so that old Alexandria might have been said to be built on pillars. These cisterns had formerly

route, I came in a few minutes to two beautiful obelisks that once adorned the palace of the Ptolemies. One still stands erect; the other lies prostrate; but both are entire, except a small disintegration from the action of the weather on the side towards the south-east. They are covered with hieroglyphics on every side: the tablets refer them to the temples and statues in Heliopolis and Thebes. They are about 64 feet high, and 8 feet square at the base. The one that lies prostrate, is mounted on props, and seems as if prepared for a journey: accident alone has prevented its being in England.*

“ Having surveyed the obelisks, I regained the beaten track, and pursued my way to the Rosetta gate, along what seemed to have been the principal street. On each side lay rows of stately columns of marble, all overturned. These are probably the remains of that magnificent colonnade that passed between the gates of the sun and moon, adorning each side of the principal street. In the numerous excavations, I observed many deep foundations, arches, and walls of what had been stately buildings; but could not be

pipes or conduits, by which they communicated, and through which the water flowed from one to another; but at present, the greater part of these conduits are stopped up, and many of the cisterns themselves are ruined by the falling in of the arches over them. Other cisterns are also frequently found here by digging, and the discoverer is entitled to a reward.”—VAN EGMONT’S Travels, vol. ii. p. 134.

* According to Dr. Clarke, an order preventing the sailors from assisting in the work, defeated the attempt to remove it.—Travels, (8vo.) vol. v. p. 345, note. He makes it 66 feet long, and 7 feet square at the base. They are of red granite; but, owing to a partial decomposition of the feldspar, the red colour on the surface has faded. Norden conjectures, that they are more ancient than Alexandria, and were brought here from Memphis.

certain in referring any of them to structures of particular note. A little way to the right of our path, two mounds stand pre-eminent, distinguished from the others by their magnitude alone. Thither I was directing my course, but the *bourichieri* informed me, that these were two Turkish forts, and must not be approached. The largest, from its commanding situation and distance from the great harbour, is probably the successor of the *Panium Turbinatum*, from the summit of which the whole town was distinctly visible. The military eye might suspect their present use; but the ordinary observer would not find any thing in their appearance to deter his approach.

“ Passing out by the Rosetta gate, and turning to the left, I proceeded over the ruins towards the Lochian promontory. The palace, which occupied about one-third of the town, stretched along in this direction. The hollow sound beneath our feet indicated the nature of the mounds over which we were passing; and the sand which had poured down in several places, opened a vista into large subterraneous chambers, which it was impossible to examine without much excavation. Detached masses of stone and lime, and brick and lime, of Romfan manufacture, lay around in great confusion; and all along this eastern side of the Great Harbour, ruined houses are seen extending a great way into the sea, which were probably merged under the surface of the water, at the time of the fatal earthquake in which Alexandria lost 50,000 of her citizens. The island of Antirrhodos, that lay in front of the harbour, memorable for the *Timonium* of Mark Anthony, and other buildings, is no where to be seen: it is reported to have been washed away, but, most probably, disappeared in the same dreadful

catastrophe. Stretching on to the point of the harbour, there is a small Turkish fort, occupying the site of the little Pharos; but it is now deserted and in ruins.

“Retracing my steps, I passed by the Rosetta gate, and proceeded round the ancient walls of the town, which are equally buried in sand with the houses which they surrounded, and are known only by their sudden and precipitous rise from the adjacent ground. Having travelled about a mile without meeting with anything worthy of notice, I passed by a low part in the wall, and came into a large open square, probably the Gymnasium: it is covered with sand, and surrounded on all sides with high mounds. Adjoining it, on the north-west, rises the majestic column which, now that the inscription has been read, we must call Diocletian’s pillar. It is elevated upon a pedestal about twelve feet high, which is much injured. The shaft is round, and rises to about the height of 90 feet.* It is surmounted with a Corinthian capital of about 10 feet. The column is one block of large-grained granite, the same as that found at Essouan: it is nine feet in diameter, with a perceptible *entasis*, without hieroglyphics, remarkably well cut, and very little injured by the effects of time.

“About a mile to the west of the column, and without the walls of the ancient city, are the Catacombs, nearly in as ruinous a condition as the city whose dead they were intended to receive. The real entrance to these subterranean abodes is unknown: the present entrance passes off from the sea, like the entrance into a grotto. On arriving at the spot, we paused in the narrow passage to light our torches, and to perform the

* Eighty-eight feet nine inches, according to Pococke, “that is, about ten diameters of the column.”

customary prelusive ceremony of firing off a musket, as well as the more uncommon one of sounding a bugle-horn, to announce to the jackals and bats, the disgusting tenants of these abodes, that they were about to be visited by human beings. Then, each of us being armed with a lighted candle, preceded by our guide, we crawled along on our hands and feet for about twenty yards under the horizontal stratum of calcareous rock. The first chamber that we entered into, was about ten feet square, and rather low in the roof: it contained a number of bones, and was pervaded by a damp, unwholesome smell. The next chamber that we entered, was larger and higher in the roof, contained many more bones, and sarcophagi cut in the side of the floor for the reception of the dead, and was equally damp with the first. The third chamber was half full of sand, and shewed the entrance into a fourth, which may be called the state-chamber: the door was adorned with Doric pilasters and a pediment, in the centre of which was a coarse half-finished globe, surmounted with a crescent. This chamber is round, with three recesses, one fronting the door, and one on each hand: it contained no bones, no sarcophagi, and very little sand. The other chambers that we entered, were so choked up with sand, that we frequently, moved on in contact with the ceiling. As there was nothing to be discovered here without immense labour, we soon became tired of crawling over sand without any object to animate the pursuit, and, retracing our way, regained the open air without having been regaled with the sight of a jackal or the flutter of a bat.

“ The form of these chambers, the doors, pilasters, and stone troughs, shew them to be entirely Grecian. In size and proportion, they are fully equal to the

Egyptian catacombs in other parts of the country; but, in the fitting up and decorations, or even the preservation, they are not to be named in comparison with the latter. All along the shore of this western harbour are many sepulchres of inconsiderable note; some of them under the rock, many that are merely cut into it, and open to the air, and many covered with water under the level of the sea. Many baths were also exhibited to us in this quarter, which were named, as usual, the Baths of Cleopatra; they are small, incommodious, and of difficult entrance; and those that we were shewn, are of a description far too inferior to countenance the supposition that they had ever been used as baths by that luxurious queen, or any of her royal predecessors. Their exposed and dreary situation, by the margin of the tombs, rather points them out as the common baths for the plebeian multitude of the luxurious Alexandrians.

“ The celebrated light-house that occupied the extremity of the western side of the Great Harbour, is now succeeded by an insignificant fortress; and on that spot whence a hospitable ray once issued to invite the industrious mariner to anchor in a peaceful harbour, a sullen Mussulman now smokes his pipe, and, looking from the embrasures, insults the Christian, and turns him from the gate with disdain.” *

* Richardson's Travels, vol. i. pp. 13—22. “ That which they call the great Pharillon,” says Norden, “ has in the middle a little tower, the summit of which terminates in a lanthorn, that they light up every night, but which does not give much light, as the lamps are ill-supplied. This castle has been built upon the Island of Pharos, which it occupies so entirely, that, if there are still some remains of that marvel of the world that Ptolemy had caused to be erected there, they continue concealed from the curious. It is the same with regard to the other castle, known under the name of the Little Pharillon.”

To this general survey it will be necessary to add a few particulars gathered from other travellers.

Dr. E. D. Clarke speaks of the Catacombs in terms of much warmer admiration. "Nothing so marvellous," he says, "ever fell within our observation. The *Cryptæ* of Jerusalem, Tortosa, Jebilee, Laodicea, and Tephessus are excavations of the same kind, but far less extensive." He supposes them to be of earlier antiquity than the foundation of the Macedonian capital, and to have been the necropolis of the more ancient city of Racotis. That which Dr. Richardson speaks of as "the state chamber," is described by this Traveller as a chamber "of a circular form, surmounted with a beautiful dome, hewn out of the rock with exquisite perfection;" and having transformed the globe and crescent into "an orb with wings," he supposes that this symbol denoted the circular shrine within, to be no other than the Serapeum of Racotis, alluded to by Tacitus, where the mysterious rites of the *Sol Inferus*, the Egyptian lord of Hades, were celebrated.* He appears to have pushed his researches further, indeed, than the former Traveller. "We endeavoured," he says, "to penetrate further towards the S.W. and S., and found that another complete wing of the vast fabric extended in these directions;

* Clarke's Travels, 8vo. vol. v. pp. 392; 392. A winged globe with a crescent under it, is found sculptured at Kermanshah in Persia. (Note from de Sacy in Walpole's Mem., p. 376.) The crescent is seen in the drawing of Mr. Davison, and was noticed by Colonel Squire as well as by Dr. Richardson; but no traveller, except Dr. Clarke, appears to have seen the wings. That Racotis was in ruins before the building of Alexandria, is proved by Jablonski from several ancient authorities, the references to which Dr. Clarke has given. The words of Jablonski are: "Nam Racotis, que postea nonnisi suburbium Alexandria fuit, diu ante urbem hanc regiam ab Alexandro erectam, illuc steterat."

but the labour of the research was excessive. The *cryptæ* upon the south-west side corresponded to those towards the north-east. In the middle between the two, a long range of chambers extended from the central and circular shrine towards the north-west; and in this direction appears to have been the principal and original entrance. Proceeding towards it, we came to a large room in the middle of the fabric, between the supposed *Serapeum* and the main outlet towards the sea. Here, the workmanship was very elaborate; and to the right and left were chambers, with receptacles ranged parallel to each other. Further on, in the same direction, is a passage with galleries and spacious apartments on either side; perhaps the *Katagogai* mentioned by Strabo for embalming the dead, or chambers belonging to the priests. In the front is a kind of *vestibulum* or porch; but it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain precisely the nature of the excavation towards the main entrance, from the manner in which it is now choked up with earth and rubbish."*

Neither of these travellers makes any mention of a remarkable circumstance observed by Mr. Davison, who explored these Catacombs in 1763. "Some of the apartments," he informs us, "are ornamented with paintings. These are so much injured by time, that little can be distinguished; but there are yet one or two figures of men to be seen, which, although defaced, sufficiently shew they have been the work of no great master." The mouth of each mummy's hole has a cornice round it; and over one of them was

* Vol. v. pp. 393, 4. Dr. Clarke has given a ground-plan of these Catacombs as surveyed by the French, which would give the idea that the whole had been explored in every direction. No explanation is given of the *data* upon which it has been constructed.

found a Greek inscription marked in red : ΗΠΑΚΛΕΙ : ΧΡ. ΚΤΕ ΧΑΙΠΕ. In some places, Mr. Davison says, the Catacombs are no fewer than *three stories one below another*. In a niche in one of the apartments, there is a statue, but greatly defaced.* From all these circumstances, taken in connexion with the Doric ornaments over the doors of some of the sepulchres, the general distribution of the chambers, and their resemblance in form to those of Milo, there seems reason to conclude, Mr. Walpole thinks, that this repository for the dead was completed about the time that Alexandria was built. "All catacombs," remarks the learned Editor, "were originally quarries, whence materials were extracted for some neighbouring city. The rock was afterwards formed into crypts and receptacles for the dead. The extent and magnificence of these sepulchral chambers at Alexandria, are well worthy of a city distinguished for its great wealth and populousness, and described by Diodorus as *ιπιφανιστατη*, Most Illustrious. Over one of the doors, there appears, in a drawing by Mr. Davison, the symbol of the globe, so frequent in Egyptian monuments ; but we cannot be surprised to find this in the necropolis of Alexandria. An intermixture of Greek and Egyptian rites and ceremonies, religious usages, and language, became very common under the Ptolemies in Egypt ; and about the time of Alexander and his first successors, the Athenians, and probably other Greek states, began to shew a religious regard to Isis in employing her name in adjurations. As soon as the custom of burning bodies ceased in the different parts of the Roman empire, (after the time of Theodosius,) the Pagans buried their dead in catacombs ; but in Egypt, the

* Walpole's Memoirs relating to Turkey, pp. 370—2.

practice of placing them in such repositories, must have been at all times more frequent than that of burning, on account of the scarcity of wood in that country. The paintings in the Catacombs, which appeared to Mr. Davison to be of ordinary execution, probably belong to the period when the arts were declining, and might have been the works of the Pagan inhabitants of the city in the sixth century; for, at that time, paganism was not altogether abolished, as we learn from a curious passage (describing the Adonian Festival) in Cyril. It is probable that these Catacombs have also been, in Alexandria, the place of resort for Christians, where, as in the crypts of Italy, they celebrated the *Agapæ*; but none of the Christian symbols, the palm-branch, the monogram of XP, or other devices similar to those found in the cemeteries of Italy, appear in the tombs of Alexandria. In some of the paintings found on the walls, the ornament of the festoon (the *παγκαρπίος στεφανός*) is very clearly traced."* The further investigation of this subterranean labyrinth seems highly desirable.

"Pompey's Pillar," as it was till lately called by the Franks, is another ancient remain which has employed a great deal of discussion; and Mr. Walpole contends, that it is not a misnomer, although the Pompey whose name it bears, was not the person to whose honour it was erected, but the prefect who raised it. "Pompeius was governor of part of Lower Egypt in the time of Diocletian. He may have been

* Walpole's Memoirs, p. 376; to which the reader is referred for the authorities. One of the catacombs at El Karjeh in the Great Oasis, has evidently been used as a Christian church, Sir A. Edmonstone says, as appears from the traces of saints painted on the wall. He supposes them to be originally of Roman construction.—EDMONSTONE'S Journey, p. 108.

governor of Alexandria, and there have raised that pillar in honour of that emperor. This information respecting a prefect in Egypt, of the name of Pompey, in the time of Diocletian, which we owe entirely to M. Quatremère, is a remarkable corroboration of the opinion of those who think the pillar was raised in honour of Diocletian by a magistrate of the name of Pompeius."* Dr. Clarke, however, by supplying the *hiatus* differently, would read, instead of ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑ-ΝΟΝ, ΔΙΟΝΑΞΙΑΝΟΝ; and Postumus instead of Pompeius; and he thus renders the whole inscription: "Postumus, Prefect of Egypt, and the people of the Metropolis, (honour) the most revered emperor, the protecting divinity of Alexandria, the divine Hadrian Augustus." Pococke thought the pillar to have been probably erected in honour of Titus or Hadrian, and the latter emperor was certainly better entitled to the gratitude of the Alexandrians, than Diocletian. But the majority of voices is in favour of the former reading.†

* Walpole, p. 375, *note*.

† Sicard, as cited by Brotier, declared the fourth letter in the name to be N., and supposed it to be that of Dionysius Ptolemaeus. On the other hand, Col. Leake gives the word Diocletian as the result of the examination made by himself, Mr. Hamilton, and Col. Squire. The re-discovery of the inscription was first made by the latter gentleman; for the members of the French Institute, and every traveller since Pococke, supposed it to be lost. Volney, following Savary, calls it the Column of Severus; a mistake which appears to have arisen from its bearing the name, among the Arabs and Syrians, of *Awmood Issawer*, or, as Mr. Walpole says, it is called in some of the Arabic writers, *Amoud al Sawary*; which he interprets, Pillar of the Colonnades, "alluding to the porticoes with which it was surrounded so late as the time of Saladin at the beginning of the twelfth century." M. Malte Brun, referring to MM. Langlès and De Sacy as his authorities, says: "It is the great column which served as the principal ornament of the famous Serapeum, a vast building consecrated to the worship of an Egyptian

"As for the column itself," says Dr. Clarke, "the shaft is of much earlier antiquity than either the capital or the pedestal." Denon, after describing it as consisting of a very clumsy pedestal, a very fine shaft, and a Corinthian capital of bad workmanship, adds: "If the shaft of this column once belonged to an ancient edifice, it is an evidence of its magnificence and of the skill with which it was executed..... The earth about the foundations of the pillar having been cleared away, two fragments of an obelisk of white marble have been added to the original base, to render it more solid. Excavations made round this column would, no doubt, afford some information as to its origin. The shaking of the earth, and the form it takes on treading on it, seem to attest that these researches would not be fruitless. They would perhaps discover the base and *atrium* of the portico to which this column belonged. Fragments of columns of the same substance and diameter are found in the vicinity, and the shaking of the earth indicates the destruction of great edifices buried beneath, the forms of which may be distinguished on the surface; such as a square of a considerable size, and a large circus, the principal dimensions of which may be measured, notwithstanding it is covered with sand and ruins."†

divinity, and which, after the destruction of the Museum of the Ptolemies, became the receptacle of the Alexandrine library and the resort of men of letters. Here, as in a place of safety, Caracalla feasted his eyes with the massacre of the people of Alexandria; a circumstance which, added to many others, leads us to think, that both the Serapeum and the Circus were situated in a suburb without the walls of the ancient city." See Clarke's Travels, vol. v. pp. 350, 359—366. Walpole's Memoirs, p. 375, *note*. Light's Travels, p. 5. Malte Brun, vol. iv. p. 67.

* Dr. Shaw remarks, that the foliage of the capital is badly executed.

† Denon's Travels by Alkin, vol. I. pp. 96—9.

The artificial foundation upon which this immense pile rests, forms not the least remarkable part of the monument. Denon represents it to be "an obelisk sunk in the earth," while Dr. Clarke describes it as sustained upon "a small prop of stone, about four feet square, exactly as it is described by Paul Lucas, although positively contradicted by Norden." Pococke describes the foundation as "built of several stones in the nature of two plinths, of two tiers of stones, the lower setting out four inches beyond the upper; as that sets out a foot beyond the plinth that is over it." But he admits that the main weight of the pillar probably rests upon the central stone. Dr. Shaw says: "A great part of the foundation, which is made up of several different parts of stone and marble, hath been removed, in expectation, as may be supposed, of finding a treasure.† At present,

* Mr. Davison gives the same account of it. Having removed some of the stones (Feb. 16, 1764), he found "the pivot of five feet square on which the pillar rests," to be covered with hieroglyphics, inverted; and, "upon measuring, saw that the stone is smaller in the lower than the upper parts. The support of the column is therefore an obelisk turned upside down." He makes the pillar to be 92 feet high, "without reckoning the separate stones by which it is raised four feet from the ground;" and the circumference round the foot of the pillar, 27 feet 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Walpole's Memoirs, p. 374. According to Van Egmont, the shaft is 69 feet high, and its solid contents 3347 cubic feet; the pedestal 18 feet high, and its contents 1828 cubic feet; and the capital 10 feet high, containing 488 cubic feet. "So that the solid content of the whole pillar, pedestal, and capital, is 5663 cubic feet, and the weight 259 tons, 18 cwt., three quarters, and seven pounds English. The whole is placed on a foundation five feet square, and every side of it decorated with hieroglyphics inverted."—*Travels, &c.*, vol. II. p. 136.

† Norden, in fact, relates that an Arab, having dug under the foundation, placed there a box of gunpowder in order to blow up the column and make himself master of the treasures which he

therefore, the whole fabric *seems to rest* entirely upon a block of white marble, scarcely two yards square, which, upon being touched with a key, gives a sound like a bell." Dr. Clarke, however, ~~thinks~~ that any of the ancient fragments irregularly placed round the central base, contributed to the support of the column; and he ~~accounts~~ for their position by supposing, that they ~~were~~ intended to "maintain the prop in its adjusted situation until the pedestal could be raised upon it." The prop itself," he adds, "consists of a mass of that beautiful kind of breccia called, peculiarly, Egyptian. The four sides are inscribed with ~~hiero~~-
graphic figures, but the position of these figures shews that the prop has its original base uppermost, for they appear inverted; thus affording a complete proof that the stone belonged to other more ancient works; that these must have been in ruins before the column was erected upon its present basis; and that it was not set up, as it now stands, either by the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, or by the people of Alexandria under the Ptolemies. This monument must be attributed entirely to the Romans."

On the top of the pillar, there is a circular cavity about two inches deep, "from which it is judged," says Pococke, "that there was a statue fixed on the top." Dr. Clarke supposes, that it was intended to receive the foot of a cinerary urn; and he contends for the probability that this stupendous pillar was originally intended as a sepulchral monument. He fancies that the supposed urn may even have contained the head of Pompey, and that this was the *temenos* erected by Julius Cæsar, which, having become ruined ~~imagined~~ to be buried underneath. The mine blew up, and disarranged only four stones, which made part of the foundation, of which the three other sides remained entire.

in the time of Trajan, was restored by Hadrian ! * Leaving these learned speculations, which have detained us too long, we must proceed briefly to mention a few miscellaneous objects of interest which are noticed by different travellérs.

Professor Heyman, who accompanied the Hon. Mr. Van Egmont on his travels about a century ago, has referred to several ancient remains, which, if still standing, deserve investigation. * Among others, he mentions a tower of stupendous magnitude and remarkably bold architecture, erected on the walls of the ancient city,† near the supposed palace of Cleopatra. He speaks also of another tower on the city wall, which he entered, and where, he says, he found several chambers still entire, which probably served as barracks. "Here also," he continues, "is a large structure, said to have still within it stately piazzas of Corinthian pillars; but Turks only are permitted to enter it, nor is it safe for a Christian even to come near the walls, so that nothing can be said of it with certainty. They tell us, indeed, that it contains a large edifice almost sunk under ground, decorated

* See the Author's learned arguments for this fanciful idea, vol. v. pp. 360—4.

† " You first enter into a large hall, the ceiling of which is supported by two large pillars, and on the capitals of them are several Greek inscriptions; but the injuries they have received from time, and the great height of the ceiling, render it impossible to transcribe them. In this hall was a reservoir, full of rubbish. From this hall we ascended, by a flight of freestone steps, into another room, the roof of which was nearly flat. Another flight led to a terrace, whence we had a beautiful prospect of the city and the sea. This structure is built of very white and smooth circular stones, and the interstices filled up with small, round pebbles. Between the large blocks of freestone, we see also small pieces of wood, about a quarter of an inch thick, which seem to have served to fasten the stones together."—VAN EGMONT, vol. ii. p. 130.

with a multitude of cupolas supported by pillars. It is added, that in it is a chest which no man can approach, at least cannot open, there being several instances of persons who, on attempting it, have dropped down dead; and hence it is, that the Turks keep a guard on the outside of this building, and allow none to enter it on any account; for we made a very handsome offer to be admitted, but were refused.* The Jews, from whom we had the above account, will have this to be an old temple built by Nicanor for the Jews who fled to Egypt from the cruelties of Nebuchadnezzar; and this they pretend to prove from a certain passage in the Talmud. But, with regard to the dangerous chest, they acknowledge themselves entirely ignorant. Others are equally positive that it was a church dedicated to St. Athanasius. Not far from this structure are two large pillars of granite still standing, and others lying on the ground, and half

* Sandys seems to allude to the same tradition. "Within a seraglio called *Somia*," he says, "the Ptolemies had their sepultures together with Alexander the Great.... There is yet to be seen here a little chapel, and within (it), a tomb much honoured and visited by the Mahometans, where they bestow their alms, supposing his body to lie in that place." The tradition is, that it was first inclosed in gold, but that precious covering having been stolen, it was enclosed in glass, and so remained until the time of the Saracens. Lucan has the following allusion to the sepulchres of the Ptolemies (lib. 8):

"Cum tibi sacro Macedon servatur in auro,
Et regum cineres extracto monte quiescant."

It seems not improbable, that the chapel mentioned by Sandys is the mosque of St. Athanasius; and if so, the chest of Van Egmont, and the glass tomb of Sandys, must be the sarcophagus of green breccia which was so long venerated as the tomb of Alexander, and is now in the British Museum. A more ancient owner has since been discovered; but, as the glass covering is stated not to have been the original tomb, which was of gold, it is not improbable that this soros actually contained the body of the divine Iskendeer. —See CLARKE'S *Travels*, vol. v. p. 238.

buried under the ruins.....Without the walls of Alexandria is still remaining a Jewish synagogue called *Eliace*, and which they say, was built in the time of the prophet Elijah....The old city is an eminence called Belvedere, which very well deserves that name for its beautiful prospect, extending over the whole harbour. Hence also we have a view both of the new city and its harbour, and also of part of the old, some of it being concealed by St. Catharine's hill. Amid this delightful prospect, the ruins of this city, anciently so famous for its splendour, fill the mind with melancholy reflections ; the new city, which has been built out of the ruins of the old, not being comparable to it. The most beautiful object in the latter is, the large area of a mosque, round which is a colonnade of exquisite pillars of the Corinthian order." *

The three principal Christian establishments, the Coptic, the Latin, and the Greek, are all built within five minutes' walk of one another, on the large open space once covered by the old city, without the inner, and within the outer walls. The Coptic convent was in part destroyed by the French, and contained, in 1820, only eight rooms ; but they had begun to rebuild it. The church, dedicated to St. Mark, is described by Van Egmont as a small, dark grotto, surrounded with a wall without any aperture except the door, through fear of the Arabs. He found four religious persons attached to it, who earnestly begged alms, and in return shewed the visitors the casket said to contain the head of St. Mark, and his portrait by St. Luke ; also, several pictures of the Virgin by the same holy artist, and a whole-length picture of St. Michael by the same ; also, an ~~arm~~ of St. George (now exhibited at Rosetta) ; and, lastly, a large pulpit inlaid

* Van Egmont, vol. ii. pp. 133, 140, 135.

with pieces of fine earthenware, in which St.⁷ often preached.*

The Rev. Mr. Jowett, the agent of the Church Missionary Society, found, in 1819, one priest and one lay servant only belonging to this establishment; and the whole number of Copts at Alexandria was not more than between sixty and seventy, of whom five or six were comparatively rich. At his request, full service was performed at the convent. The porter, a blind old man, called the congregation together with cymbals, which he beat for about three minutes. The priest repeated the chief part of the service by heart in Coptic; he also read some part in Coptic from the manuscript service-books. A lay attendant and the people made numerous responses. "When they came to the gospels, which were in Arabic, a Copt was desired to read: a poor old man held the candle to him, and, when he had done, begged him to read another, and another still. The people were attentive to this, as it was the only part that they could understand: all the rest is in Coptic, pronounced by the priest in the holy place, with his face to the altar. When they

* Dr. Richardson says: "The chair of St. Mark, the boasted possession and seat of the patriarch of Alexandria, no longer exists." We know not whether he alludes to this pulpit. Sandys says: "The patriarch of Alexandria hath here a house adjoining to a church, which stands (as they say) in the place where St. Mark was buried, their first bishop and martyr; who, in the days of Trajan, haled with a rope tied about his neck, to the place called *Angeles*, was there burned, for the testimony of Christ, by the idolatrous pagans. Afterwards, his bones were removed to Venice by the Venetians." The *Angellium* was a place on the western side of the city; and M. Quatremère supposes it to have been the circus near the porticos surrounding Pompey's pillar, and forming part of the *Serapeum*. According to another version of the tradition, the pastures (*Tabuculu*, i.e. Bucolia) at the foot of the cliffs close to the east of the city, was the place where St. Mark suffered.—See *Ency. Metrop.*, *art.* Egypt.

bow, it is generally to the ground, which they kiss. The priest bore a small silver cross, on which three lighted tapers were stuck, with which he blessed the people. They all left their shoes without the inner part of the church, and stood barefooted on the mat or carpet. When the priest communicated, which he did alone, there was a great deal of secret and mystical ceremony: meantime, the poor people got my Copt to read them another portion of the gospels. The blind old man seemed to have it by heart; for, when my Copt hesitated, which he did two or three times, the old man helped him out. At the end of the communion, the priest first washed every other vessel, and then his own hands, drinking the water at the end of each washing: he then received water in both hands, and flung it abroad into the air. The people then came to him; and with both hands he stroked their cheeks and beards, as we should do in coaxing a child. They were then dismissed with some holy bread." The whole service took up an hour and three quarters, during which incense was used frequently; a very necessary practice, remarks Mr. J., in such a country, where cold damps and pestilential airs sometimes infest a church. About a dozen crutches, six feet long, were provided, on which, the stick being inclined, one arm is rested during the service. The women sit apart up in a gallery, as in the Greek churches. There was a large laver, in which they baptize the whole body of the infant, using lukewarm water and holy oil; and the priest shook his head on hearing that no holy oil is used in the rite of the English church.*

The Latin convent contains fifteen or sixteen apartments. It had, in 1813, three fathers, and two more

* Jowett's Christian Researches, p. 39.

were there in their way to the Holy Land, the superior was a Venetian. A missionary is required to serve, as such, twelve years ; but during that term, his station is frequently shifted ; and the superior had been successively at Tripoli, Beirut, Jerusalem, and Aleppo. In a school belonging to the Latins, Mr. Jowett found about eighteen scholars, of whom one was a Copt, four or five were Greeks, † and the rest Catholics. They were all reading the Arabic Psalter. Neither the Greeks nor the Copts have a school of their own. The Greek convent is dedicated to St. Catherine ; and they pretend that the church is built upon the spot where she suffered martyrdom. Mr. Jowett was shewn (as Van Egmont was a hundred years before) the block of white marble with some black specks upon it, on which she is said to have been beheaded. The church is very old. “ There are eight or ten pillars of porphyry, which, they say, belonged to the old city, and stood then, where they do now.” There were but four or five priests. The Greek patriarch of Alexandria resides at Cairo ; and the number of Greek families resident in Alexandria did not exceed ten. To this convent, as there is no Protestant church, the English are indebted for the rites of baptism and burial ; and in the yard adjacent are the tombs of five or six English officers who died during the expedition to Egypt.

* Van Egmont mentions a church dedicated to St. George, not far from which he saw “ a ruined building of the ancient Franks or Italians, and hard by, the convent and church of the *Succolanti*, where a few fathers perform divine service after the manner of the Roman Church.”

† A Catholic, who pointed out the Greeks, called them severally *Greco salato*, a salted Greek, alluding to their baptism, when a little salt is put upon their head.

But the most interesting spot to an Englishman,—the first and the last to be visited, is the “glorious field of the 21st of March,” where the gallant Abercromby fell in the arms of victory. “Having cleared the Rosetta gate,” says Dr. Richardson, “we travelled about two miles, and came to the elevated position of the French lines, stretching along the heights from what was the Lake Mareotis to the sea. About two miles further on, we reached the station of our gallant countrymen, having passed through a rough and sandy plain. Advancing in front of the ruin where raged the hottest of the battle, we found a six-pound shot lying in the sand. This was the only messenger of death that met our eyes; but numbers of the same description have not unfrequently been found here by others. This ruin has been called the remains of a Roman fort: to me it appeared to be those of a caravansary, and, though greatly dilapidated, would still afford many advantages to the occupant in the hour of conflict. Here we alighted, and led our horses among the tombs of the departed heroes, which are now level with the ground, and almost imperceptible. One monumental stone which his sorrowing companions had erected to the memory of Colonel Dutens, and inscribed with his name, was the only memorial that we saw upon the field.* We raised it from its prostrate situation among the sand, and, having restored it to the erect position, rode over to the canal, and returned to Alexandria.”†

And this is all that the modern traveller has to tell

* In 1814, a stone, Captain Light says, still marked the spot on which Sir Ralph Abercromby fell. Has this memorial been suffered to perish?

† Richardson, vol. i. p. 26.

us about this once magnificent capital ! What precious relics may yet lie buried beneath the shapeless rubbish and the mounds of sand, remains a matter of conjecture ; for hitherto the site ~~has~~ never been fully explored. Yet, this is "the door," as Dr. Richardson justly remarks, " by which the Egyptian antiquary ought to enter upon his researches,—the place to search for the key that may unlock the hidden mysteries of the hieroglyphics. Here, for the first time, so far as we know, the sacred-language of the priests was translated into the language of the country and that of its conquerors." Among the ruins of this "city of interpreters," if any where, therefore, we might expect to discover some polyglot inscriptions that would throw further light upon the hieroglyphic character. Here, the first translation was made of the sacred oracles committed to the Jews, into the language of the Gentiles. For, though we are compelled to give up the pleasing fable of the Seventy learned elders whom tradition reports to have been employed on the task by command of Ptolemy Philadelphus, it is certain, that the Pentateuch was translated by Alexandrian Jews for the use of the synagogue, about 285 years before the Christian era, and that the Prophets were translated as early as the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.* To this venerable version, subsequently completed by the translation of the remaining books, the Apostles and first preachers of the Gospel made their appeal, as being held in equal esteem among the Jews with the original Hebrew. But now, at Alexandria, the language of the Septuagint is almost unknown !—Where shall we find a spot that calls up so numerous a train of interesting yet discordant, and for the most part melancholy reflections ?

* See Owen's Enquiry into the Septuagint, 8vo. 1779. p. 2.

The glory of Alexander, the fate of Pompey, the triumph of Cæsar, the beauty of Cleopatra, are among the first ideas which are associated with the obelisks and the pillar which stand as the hieroglyphics of its ancient greatness. Then, the reflective mind adverts to the Ptolemaic Library, the Septuagint, the martyrdom of St. Mark, the school of Origen, the throne of Athanasius, the overthrow of the idol Serapis, the arrival of the Saracens, Saladin and the ~~Conquerors~~, Bonaparte, and Abercromby!

Of the maritime tract which stretches from Alexandria to Rosetta, we have no very distinct topographical description; and the site of several ancient cities is still doubtful. Aboukir (or Bokkier) has been erroneously supposed to denote the site of the ancient Canopus;* but the name seems to identify it with Bucharis.† Other ancient sites are probably covered by the waters of Lake Maadieh.

* Oxford Strabo, p. 1135, note 31.

† Sandys thus refers to it in his route to Rosetta. "On the 2d of February, in the afternoon, we undertook our journey, passing through a desert, producing here and there a few unhusbanded palms, capers, and a weed called *kull* (*kali*). On the left hand we left divers ruinous buildings, once said to have been the royal mansion of Cleopatra. Beyond which stands *Bucharis*, once a little but ancient city, now only shewing her foundations, where grow many palms, which sustain the wretched people that live thereabouts in beggarly cottages. There, on a rock, a tower affordeth light by night to the sailor, the place being full of danger. Anon we passed by a guard of soldiers there placed for the securing of that passage, paying a *madaim* for every head. Seven or eight miles beyond, we ferried over a creek of the sea. On the other side stands a handsome khan, not long since built by a Moor of Cairo." This creek is the mouth of Lake Etko, which has been supposed to correspond to the Canopic mouth of the Nile, while its distance from Alexandria seems to correspond to that of Canopus, which was fifteen miles E. of that city. The khan might be supposed to occupy the site of the *Heracleum*, were it not on the wrong side of

Captain Light, in proceeding to Rosetta, embarked on Lake Etko. The village of that name, situated on a gentle ascent at its eastern extremity, is remarkable for its apparent neatness as viewed from a distance.* "The lake," says this Traveller, "had the muddy appearance of a river. All its landing-places were so shallow, that it was necessary to wade to the shore, to which I was carried for thirty yards on the shoulders of an Arab boatman. The banks of the lake were covered with palm-trees, growing in thick plantations from a sandy soil: no verdure appeared except in front of Etko. We skirted the lake for an hour through groves of palm, till we left it for the desert,

the creek. Another important site is referred to by Colonel Squire, which deserves further investigation. "Three leagues eastward of Alexandria, immediately on the sea-shore, are the ruins of very superb and extensive buildings. It is imagined, these formed part of the city of *Taposiris Parva*. Here are also, cut out of the solid rock, a number of places which have the appearance of baths. Not far from this spot, at a short distance in the sea, may be seen the fragments of several pieces of ancient sculpture, granite and marble sphinxes, a colossal fluted statue with the head of a dog, an immense granite fist, and other relics, plainly indicating the site of a temple."—MS. Letter in Clarke's Travels, vol. v. p. 411. Supposing Aboukir Point to be the *Zephyrium* promontory of Strabo (where Thonis once stood), and the site above described to be *Taposiris*, "the infamous *Canopus*" could not have been far from the present mouth of Lake Etko, and its ruins may be covered by the lake. The bed of Lake Madaieh was, probably, traversed by the canal which connected *Canopus* with Alexandria, and along which the votaries of *Serapis* resorted in their painted boats to celebrate the *Canopic* orgies. According to Strabo, *Heraclium* was between *Canopus* and the *Canopic* mouth. "*E Canopici portā erunti ad dextram est fossa, qui lacui jungitur, et Canopi fert. . . . Post Canopum est Heraclium quod Herenilis templum habet. Inde est Canopicum ostium, et ipsis Delta initium.*"—Oxford Strabo., pp. 1135, 6 (cited by Dr. Clarke). See also Sandys's Travels, folio, p. 91.

* This writer speaks of its "mosques and minarets" and sheikhs' tombs, as if it was a considerable town. It was probably an ancient site, perhaps *Naucratis*, of which its name may be a corruption.

where a solitary palm-tree once or twice shewed itself amongst hills of sand, and where the charity or devotion of some Arab generally left a pitcher of water for the thirsty and wearied passenger. This slight specimen of the desert gave me a tolerable idea of what the journey must be across larger portions of it. Our road lay through a succession of ascents and descents of loose sand, into which our animals sank to their knees at every step. We continued thus till we arrived at a plain near Rosetta, where the mirage deceived me by the resemblance to water; but our journey was rendered less troublesome as the sand was firmer. At half-past three, we came in sight of Rosetta, and at five, arrived at the grove of palms near the walls, which springs up amid hills of sand, and was pointed out as the spot where the English detachment under General Wauchop took up its position. I confess I felt no raptures at the sudden appearance of the Nile, Rosetta, and its neighbourhood; for, though, on entering the town and arriving at the river, the eye is much gratified with the opposite shores of the Delta, and the change from desert to cultivation, yet the traveller will look in vain for the paradise of Denon, Savary, and Sonnini." *

ROSETTA.

Dr. Richardson reached Rosetta by sea. The Bay of Aboukir, rendered for ever memorable by the victory obtained over the French fleet by Lord Nelson, is encircled with palm-trees of luxuriant growth, forming a pleasing contrast to the brown sand which covers the surrounding soil. At its entrance is a small island,

* Light's Travels, p. 16,

which, in commemoration of the victory, he received from our sailors the name of Nelson's Island. The passing of the bar at the mouth of the Rosetta branch, is at all times attended with danger. The sands are constantly shifting, and the surf is always high; but the bar once surmounted, the transition to the tranquil waters of the Nile is instantaneous and delightful. The water is immediately fresh, without any brackish mixture, and, notwithstanding the mud with which it is impregnated; is pronounced by the learned Traveller the finest in the world.* The banks of the river, covered with rows of palm-trees, and the rice-fields of the Delta stretching as far as the eye can reach beyond, together with the fertile islands formed by the majestic stream, present a delightful assemblage to the eye of the traveller, fatigued with the unvarying prospect of sea and sand, as, impelled by the breeze against the current, he ascends the stream with great rapidity.

Rosetta is situated on the western bank of the Bolbitinic branch of the Nile, about four miles above its mouth, in lat. $31^{\circ} 25' N.$, long. $30^{\circ} 28' 20'' E.$ Its proper name is Rashid, and the natives pretend that the celebrated Khalif Haroun al Rashid was born here. Dr. Richardson supposes that this, his reputed birth-place, was

* "The only result we have been able to obtain from the most careful chemical analysis of the Nile water, proves it to contain the carbonates of magnesia, lime, and iron, the muriat of soda, and a small portion of silex and alumine. But it is one of the purest waters known, remarkable for its easy digestion by the stomach, and for its salutary qualities in all the uses to which it is applied. (For chemical purposes, it is said to answer the purpose of either rain-water or distilled water.) It is not yet known, what chemical union takes place in Nile water, when the addition of pounded almonds causes it to precipitate the substances it holds in a state of imperfect solution. This is the common mode adopted in Egypt for clarifying the water."—CLARKE'S *Travels*, p. 283.

probably built by his son.* It was not a place of any note till after the decline of Damietta, owing to the increase of the bar which obstructs the navigation of that branch of the river. It was in a flourishing condition, however, about the beginning of the twelfth century. "Rosetta," says Dr. Hume, "has been celebrated by travellers as the paradise of Egypt; but the lofty minarets of the great mosques, the tombs of Arab saints, and some houses of the Franks, which are almost embosomed in woods, give the traveller, as he sails up the river, ideas of populousness and wealth, which are strongly contrasted by the mean and ruinous buildings seen by him on landing. Between the houses and the Nile is a wide space, the parade of Rosetta: in the evening, I found it crowded with people. The longest streets, or rather lanes of Rosetta, for they are extremely narrow, lie parallel to each other on a line with the river, and are irregularly intersected by others, which are shorter. The houses, generally built of brick, are of two or three stories, and, at the top, appear nearly to touch each other, while the small latticed windows projecting into the street, add considerably to the gloominess of the houses. The bazars are narrow, dark, and dirty. The great mosque

* It is said to have been built A.D. 875. According to Quaresmius, however, Rosetta was anciently called *Scheida*, and must have been a place of higher antiquity, if, as he states, the family of Mohammed drew their origin from that city: "*Fertur in partibus illis, ex ea civitate originem traxisse Mahometem.*" But Mekka, the birth-place of Mohammed, had long been the seat of the tribe of Koreish; and little attention is due to the statement of a writer who refers to Mekka as containing the prophet's sepulchre.—See CLARK's *Travels*, vol. v. p. 42. Denon says, that Rosetta stands at no great distance from the ruins of *Bulbitinum*, "which must have been situated on an elbow of the river, where now stands the convent of Abu Mandur, half a league from Rosetta."

is very large, and its roof is supported by a number of columns. It has two minarets of a light and beautiful construction, but of unequal height. From the summit of one, the prospect, on a clear day, is rich and beautiful towards the Delta and the winding of the river; but, westward, the view is that of an arid and burning desert.* Rosetta is nearly surrounded with gardens. A Rosetta garden is a walled enclosure, where shrubs and fruit-trees are planted together without order or regularity. The rude growth of the trees affords an agreeable shelter from the intense heat; and in his garden, the Arab frequently takes his evening meal of *pillau* (boiled rice and fowls). The gardens are watered by the Persian wheel from wells filled by the Nile during the inundation. The small wheels are turned by an ass, the larger by buffaloes. The gardens of Rosetta derive their celebrity from the sudden contrast witnessed by the traveller, on exchanging the barren wastes in the vicinity of Alexandria for a tract of country abounding with trees and the most luxuriant vegetation.

“ On leaving Rosetta, I walked to the castle of St. Julian, along the west bank of the city, and through rich fields of clover, the *bersim* of the Egyptians. On some parts of my road, I observed pools of stagnant water, in one of which a few buffaloes had taken shelter from the mosquitoes, every part of them being

* The desert is stated, indeed, to have gained upon the cultivated ground in the neighbourhood of Rosetta. Capt. Light says: “ The desert approaches close to the shores of the Nile: a few gardens and the continuation of the palm-grove are all that separates it from the river. Opposite Rosetta, is the island of Sarshes, a fruitful tract of corn-land, about a mile and a half in length, where a few peasants have their hovels under some palm-trees, and which has been occasionally employed as a lazaretto in time of plague. The Pasha has large magazines of corn and rice there.”—LIGHT, p. 17.

covered except the nostrils.* The castle of St. Julian, where the *djerm* met me; consists of a tower surrounded with a wall. We passed over the Nile to a mud-built village, exactly opposite, where, the wind being unfavourable, we were detained until next morning. The ground upon which this village stands, is rather more elevated than the adjacent country. The houses are poor hovels, several of them being built in the form of bee-hives. The fields around are cultivated with care, and, after the inundation of the Nile, when the river is confined to its proper channel, they are watered by the Persian wheel from cisterns. Where the country is in any degree shaded, not a foot of ground is allowed to be waste; for even under the date-trees, the cucumber and other garden-fruits are seen growing; but where no shade intervenes to weaken the intense heat of the sun, the ground is hard and uncultivated, and bears nothing but thickets of brushwood."†

Sir Robert Wilson speaks of the country in terms still less in accordance with the glowing descriptions of the French travellers; and he represents the mortification of the British officers on arriving there as

* "We were, on the road, persecuted by two kinds of creatures, gnats and buffaloes. The latter especially seemed to be angry with me and my interpreter, because we were dressed in red. Our janissary was obliged to drive the animals from us with his cudgel. Our other enemies, the gnats, though much weaker, could not be subdued by this guard; their number made them intolerable and invincible. The rice-fields, being constantly under water, occasion a swampy ground fit for the support of these vermin, and in these they lay their eggs. . . . I heard a sound which seemed artificial, as if somebody had knocked together two hard wooden sticks. On asking what it was, I was told, that myriads of little frogs which kept under water, emitted this sound."—HASSELQUIST's *Travels*, p. 54.

† Walpole's *Memoirs*, pp. 383, 6.

extreme, at finding that its boasted墩gments consist in the cheering sight of verdure after traversing a barren waste. "For two or three miles immediately on the banks of the Nile, towards St. Julian," he says, "there is certainly a luxuriant vegetation; but, beyond that and over the Delta, the scenery is bleak: to the south, only hills of sand are to be seen. Rosetta is built of a dingy red brick: a great part of the town is in ruins, many of the houses having been pulled down by the French for fuel. The streets are not more than two yards wide, and full of wretches whom the pride of civilized man revolts at acknowledging as human. The quantity of blind persons is prodigious; nearly every fifth inhabitant has lost, or has some humour in, his eyes.* The erysipelas, the dropsy, the leprosy, the elephantiasis, all kinds of extraordinary contortions and *lusus naturæ* constantly offend the sight. Filth, mosquitoes of the most dreadful sort, vermin of every kind, women so ugly that it is fortunate their faces (all but the eyes) are concealed by a black cloth veil, stench intolerable, houses almost uninhabitable, form the charms of Rosetta and Savary's garden of Eden. The quay alone is a handsome object, and this certainly might be made noble. The Nile, the celebrated Nile, afforded, uncombined with its bounties and wonderful properties, no pleasure to

* Mr. Jowett was struck in the same manner, in walking through Alexandria, with the number of blind people. Many had lost one eye; some, both; others seemed in the way to lose them; and this among the young, as well as old. Inattention to cleanliness appears to be one cause of the early loss of sight. In Cairo, it is said to be even worse. The greater part of the inhabitants there, Hasselquist says, are afflicted with ophthalmia and psorothalmia. The excessive heat, added to the incredible quantity of fine dust, and the fetid drains, are assigned by him as the probable causes of their prevalence.—See HASSELQUIST'S *Travels*, p. 389.

the sight. The muddy stream, the rotten banks putrifying with the fatness of the slime left by the waters, and its narrow breadth, not being more than a hundred yards across, impressed the mind with no idea of majesty. But a reflection on the miraculous qualities of the river, and an anticipation of the luxuries which the muddy waters would afford, rendered it an object of considerable interest."*

Volney describes the Nile at Rosetta as rolling between two steep banks, and considerably resembling the Seine between Auteuil and Passy. The woods of palm-trees on each side, and the orchards of lemon, orange, banana, pomegranate, and other trees, by their perpetual verdure, render Rosetta, he says, exceedingly delightful. In accounting for the very different representations given of this spot by various travellers, some allowance must be made for the different season at which they visited it. The gardens, when the fragrant shrubs are in blossom, must, according to all accounts, be well entitled to the admiration they have obtained. Sir F. Henniker says: "These would be valued even after scenes of ordinary verdure. They are not so extensive as I had imagined, but more beautiful than I could have conceived. Every thing is in wild luxuriance, and literally a wilderness of sweets. The banana, the palm, the orange, the lemon, the *cedrato*, and the *henneh*, besides being objects of novelty and beauty, are all in bearing. The banana pleases me most, both in its fruit and in its appearance: the leaves are nearly six feet in length, and of a width to render them just elegant. The *henneh*, loved of women, resembles myrtle. The various species of orange struggle for

room; and the whole is surmounted by the palm-trees, their leaves resembling and drooping like ostrich feathers.”*

Except the gardens, no object of curiosity now remains † to detain the traveller. Rosetta has still a few European inhabitants; but its trade is on the decline, and the new-canal of Mahmoudieh will probably lead to its total decay, while Fouah will again become the *entrepôt* of the trade between Cairo and Alexandria. The population of Rosetta has been estimated at 9000. Among these, in 1819, there were about fifty families of Copts, and ten of Greeks. The Latins have also a convent there. The Greek convent is a spacious building, and would accommodate between forty and fifty families, according to their usual mode of living, but Mr. Jowett found here only two priests,‡ one from Patmos, the other from Cyprus. In the

* Henniker's Notes, p. 20.

† Dr. Richardson says, “It has nothing either ancient or modern to interest the traveller.” Yet, one of the most valuable relics of antiquity was discovered here, that have yet been brought to light by the researches of travellers; the famous *trilingual* stone now in the British Museum, to which the learned world is indebted for all the ingenious discoveries of Dr. Young and M. Champollion, respecting the phonetic use of hieroglyphic characters in writing proper names. Dr. Clarke mentions a warehouse at Rosetta with a vaulted stone roof, which he represents as “of very great, though unknown antiquity.” And among the few curiosities of the place may be mentioned, “a manufactory for hatching chickens by artificial heat without incubation.”—RICHARDSON'S *Travels*, vol. i. p. 37. This seems to be an improvement upon the more ancient mode described by Hasselquist, p. 55.

‡ Jowett, p. 108. Mr. Jowett endeavoured to draw from the Greek priests who accompanied him to the Coptic convent, a statement of their main point of difference with the Copts; but they said, it would infallibly lead to a quarrel. Afterwards, addressing Mr. J., the superior said, “We are alike; we marry, bury, baptize for the English; but the Copts—Ah!”

Coptic convent, there was only one priest, but there was a school under a blind master, with ten or twelve scholars. In the church, which is exceedingly dark, Mr. Jowett was shewn a shabby wooden case, of cylindrical form, and about three feet in length, which was said to contain the arm of St. George; but the arm itself, he was told, could be shewn only once a year, on St. George's day!

In ascending the river from Rosetta, the traveller begins to acquire some general idea of the soil, climate, and productions of this singular country. "Nothing," says Volney, "more resembles its appearance, than the marshes of the lower Loire, or the plains of Flanders. Instead, however, of the numerous trees and country-houses of the latter, we must imagine some thin woods of palms and sycamores, and a few villages of mud-walled cottages built on artificial mounds. All this part of Egypt is so level and so low, that we are not three leagues from the coast when we first discover the palm-trees, and the sands on which they grow. As we proceed up the river, the declivity is so gentle that the water does not flow faster than a league an hour. As for the prospect of the country, it offers little variety; nothing is to be seen but palm-trees, single or in clumps, which become fewer in proportion as you advance; wretched villages of mud-walls, and a boundless plain, which, at different seasons, is an ocean of fresh water, a miry morass, a verdant field, or a dusty desert. On every side is an extensive and foggy horizon, where the eye is wearied and disgusted. At length, towards the junction of the two branches of the river, the mountains of Grand Cairo are discovered in the east, and to the south-west, three detached masses appear, which, from their triangular form, are known to be the pyramids."

Dr. Richardson thus describes the voyage from Rosetta to Fouah, in September.

"Nothing could exceed the picturesque beauty of our setting off; it was instantaneous, like the magical operation of an enchanter's wand. In one moment, the two immense lettine sails of the *maash** were given to the wind, and we were going at the rate of five or six knots an hour, with the appearance of going eight or ten. This rapid motion along the rich and verdant banks of the Nile is extremely delightful. The northern breeze so tempered the scorching heat, that we were enabled to remain on deck, and to enjoy the prospect in all its beauty. We soon passed a few scanty ruins on the right, where the bank is high and covered with sand. On both sides, a number of Persian wheels were at work, raising water to moisten the contiguous ground. Rice-fields prevail on the Delta; Indian corn, but chiefly, *dhourra*, on the Libyan side. The eye is constantly refreshed with the varying shades of green, the flights of the paddy birds along the fields, and the heads of the buffaloes floating like logs upon the water, while their bodies are immersed beneath. The villages are numerous, and generally large, built of sun-dried brick, and,

* A *maash* is the largest vessel on the Nile; and cannot navigate it above four months in the year. It is fitted up both as a passage and a carriago boat, and has two masts, with two most powerful lettine sails. The forepart is appropriated to goods or grain, of which it will contain 200 tons, and it has two cabins in the aft-part. A *djerm* is a lighter vessel, from 50 to 70 feet long, without a deck, and draws but little water; it has one powerful lettine sail, and passes over shallows where lighter vessels of a different construction would probably be stranded. Besides these is used a *candji*, or skiff, about 18 feet long, with a small sail and a pair of oars: "a *candji*," says Sir F. Henniker, "is to a *maash*, as a gondola to a barge."

with the whitened dome of a mosque, a minaret, or a pigeoh-house, embosomed in a grove of palm-trees, present in the distance a most enchanting prospect. They stand on eminences apparently artificial. Many of the houses, or rather huts, are very small, from ten to twelve feet square; the roofs flat and covered with reeds or *dhourra* straw. The streets are mere narrow tracks. In the evening, we arrived at Fouah, about twenty-five miles above Rosetta. Before reaching it, we passed the entrance of a canal on the Libyan side with very high banks, probably the Canopic canal.* About eight miles above Fouah, we passed the canal of Alexandria, at Rahmanieh."†

Fouah (Fuwwah; *Bwā*, *Vua*) was, in the sixteenth century, a handsome town, the seat of the trade subsequently transferred to Rosetta, which it seems likely to recover. It is not far from Lake Etka, on the eastern bank of the Nile. Dr. Richardson describes it as still a large town, and at a distance, it has a very picturesque appearance. Rahmanieh is a place of some importance as a military station. The canal of Alexandria, which originates here, runs parallel with the Nile for about three hundred yards, and then takes a direction at right angles to Mehallet-Daoud, while one branch opens again into the Nile, which, at the angle, is not above one hundred and twenty yards

* Or rather, communicating with it, as that arm originates higher up the river.

† Richardson, vol. i. pp. 38-41. To the west of Rahmanieh, and a little to the south of the canal of Alexandria, is the town of *Damanhur-el-Wohsh*, called in the Coptic books *Ptiminhor*, the City of Horus; the *Hermopolis Parva* of the Greeks. It was the residence of a *kashef* under the Mamlouks, and is the chief town in the government of Boheireh, the ancient Libyan prefecture. It is a great emporium for cotton.—SONNINI, vol. ii. p. 141.

distant. A little to the north of Mehallet-Daoud, the boggy bed of a rivulet, supposed to be part of the Canopic arm of the Nile, runs nearly in a right angle from the canal of Alexandria into Lake Etko. That canal is filled with water at high Nile, but, at all other seasons, is dry.*

Among the birds which frequent the Nile, Dr. Clarke principally noticed pelicans, from the mouth up to Rahmanieh. The *sterna Nilotica*, or Egyptian sea-swallow, also appeared in immense flocks near the sides of the river. "Afterwards," he says, "we saw many beautiful birds of whose names we are entirely ignorant; particularly one of the plover kind," (supposed to be the *tringa Ægyptiaca longirostris* of Hasselquist,) "whose plumage displayed the most lively and variegated colours. The pigeon-cones increased very much after passing Amrus, almost every village being furnished with them.† But the most remarkable appearance of living beings may be noticed, by dipping a ladle or bucket into the midst of the river, which is every where dark with mud, and observing the swarms of animals contained in the torrent. Among these, tadpoles and young frogs are so numerous, that, rapid as the current flows, there is no part of the Nile where the water is destitute of them."

* Sir R. Wilson, p. 92.

† Clarke, vol. v. p. 61. The Author ascended the Nile in August. Sir F. Henniker mentions a beautiful bird of snow-white plumage, in form as graceful as a heron, but not larger than a parrot, which feeds on locusts and grasshoppers. This is apparently no other than the Ibis of the Egyptians, (*Ardea Ibis* of Linn., the *Chapon de Pharaon* of the French,) and which is of great service to the country. The boatmen concealed those which the Englishman shot, "lest the natives should be offended." The *Alcedo Ægyptia*, Egyptian kingfisher, various species of plover, dotterell, gull, and duck, also frequent the Nile. See HASSELQUIST, pp. 193-210.

A short distance to the south of Rahmanieh, on the eastern side of the river, near the place where a canal runs towards the Damietta branch, is the village of Sa-el-hajar, (Sa of the Stone,) near which are found the supposed ruins of Sais, the ancient metropolis of the Delta, and the mother city of the Athenians.* These interesting ruins, which were first noticed by Van Egmont and Heyman, escaped the observation of the French, but have been more recently visited and described by Dr. Clarke. "The present village seems," says the learned Traveller, "to be situate in the suburban district of the ancient city; for, as we proceeded in an easterly direction, we soon discerned its vestiges. Irregular heaps, containing ruined foundations that had defied the labours of the peasants, appeared between the village and some more considerable remains further towards the north-east. The earth was covered with fragments of ancient terra cotta, which the natives had cast out of their sieves. At the distance of about three furlongs, we came to an immense quadrangular enclosure, nearly a mile wide, formed by high mounds of earth facing the four points of the compass. In the centre was a conical heap, supporting the ruins of some building, the original form of which cannot be ascertained. The ramparts of this enclosure are so lofty as to be visible from the river, although at that distance the irregularity of their appearance might cause them to be mistaken for natural eminences. They seem to correspond to the account given of a similar enclosure at San, the ancient Tanis. The water of the river, in consequence of the inundation, had obtained access to this enclosure so as

* See authorities in *Anacharsis*, vol. i. p. 130. In Van Egmont's *Travels*, Sais is stated to have been originally an Athenian colony; and, strange to say, Dr. Clarke has copied the statement.

to form a small lake around the conical heap in the middle. Van Egmont and Heyman found here a very curious inscription in honour of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, its benefactor, certain of whose titles are given. They saw also the colossal statue of a female with hieroglyphics, the head of which had been broken off and removed to Cairo. Fourteen camel-loads of treasure were said to have been found among the ruins. Our inquiry after antiquities was, however, for a long time unsuccessful; and we began to despair of carrying from Sais any-thing belonging to the ancient place." The sight of a few newly coined *partas*, however, soon brought round the travellers a number of men, women, and children bringing relics of antiquity for sale. Among these were some fragments of sculpture in granite, porphyry, and basalt, a bronze tripod, a bronze bust of Phtha, a bronze image of Horus, apparently intended to be worn as an amulet, and an earthenware image of a mummy. On examining the mosque of the village, the fragments of some ancient columns appeared in the walls; and before the entrance was found a large slab of polished syenite, which has been the pedestal of a statue, one foot still being attached to the stone, and bearing a hieroglyphic inscription. Within the mosque, among other materials, loosely put together for the purpose of supporting a stone table, was discovered the *torso* of a statue in green basalt, its zone covered with an un-finished hieroglyphic inscription.*

There can be no doubt that this was an ancient site; but it may have occurred to the reader, that the learned Traveller has furnished us with no proof of its being

* These remains were purchased by the learned Traveller, and are now in the University Library at Cambridge.

the site of Sais, or even the spot visited by Van Egmont and Heyman. On the third day after leaving Cairo, those travellers tell us, they anchored near a large village called Sa-el-Hajar, where they "saw several ruins of the ancient city of Sais;" and some miles further, several *tumuli* and ruins. "Here is particularly a large statue of a woman in a sitting posture, formed out of a block of bluish marble. The whole is entire, except the head, which has been carried to Cairo; and indeed, the whole statue would have been removed to that city, had not its enormous weight rendered their attempts abortive." This block of bluish marble may be Dr. Clarke's *torso* of green basalt; the mosque may have been built since Van Egmont travelled; the *tumuli* and ruins of the latter, may be the quadrangular enclosure and conical mound of Dr. Clarke; but the identity of the spot is not very apparent. Dr. Richardson seemingly refers to another spot under the name of Sath-haggar, much higher up the river,* and about *three* miles inland, which he represents as occupying the site of Sais. A scanty village and an immense mound of rubbish are,

* Dr. Richardson left Fouah at 9 A.M., and about 5 P.M. they were opposite Sath-haggar or Sa-el-haggar. In Sir Robert Wilson's map of the Rosetta branch, Salhaggar is placed a few miles below the mouth of the Canal of Farestak, which answers apparently to the Sath-haggar of Dr. Richardson: whereas Dr. Clarke places Sais nearly opposite Rahmanteh, a little below the mouth of the Canal of Dainanhur, as stated at p. 60. It is hard to say which place Sir F. Henniker refers to in the following passage: "In the neighbourhood of Salthaggar are the ruins of Sais. . . . Sais is under water; nothing to be seen except the mounds that denote the ancient site, and the excavations that indicate the labour of the Arabs. They tell us, that Franks, foolish Franks, come there to buy whatever is found; that only one statue or monument is left, and that because it cannot be taken away: 'not even an Englishman can move it.' It is at present under water."—P. 27. This cannot be the *torso* of Dr. Clarke.

he says, all that remain of its ancient grandeur; "nor has excavation discoyered any thing further than a few coins with the head of Minerva on one side, and that of her beloved owl on the other." It is to be regretted, that the learned Traveller does not state by whom they were discovered, nor even refer to Dr. Clarke's visit to the supposed Sais. Such coins would, indeed, afford a strong presumption in favour of the identity of the site. It is scarcely probable, however, that all the colossal works which once adorned the city of Sais, have been removed or destroyed; and few spots, even in Egypt, seem more to invite and to deserve investigation. Amasis, we are told, constructed at Sais, a *propylæum* in honour of Neith or Minerva, which, in magnificence and grandeur, surpassed every thing before seen, of so enormous a size were the stones employed in the building and in its foundation. Herodotus enumerates among the decorations, prodigious colossal statues under the name of *androsphinges*. But the most astonishing work was a monolithic shrine or temple, 21 cubits long, 14 broad, and 8 high, the size of the chamber within being 18 feet by 12, and 5 feet in height: exclusively of the time required for working it, it occupied 2000 men for three years in bringing down this enormous block from Elephantine in Upper Egypt, a distance of above 600 miles. A celebrated colossus given by Amasis to the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, had also its duplicate at Sais.* Within the sacred enclosure were buried the sovereigns of the Saitic dynasty; and it may be supposed, Dr. Clarke remarks, that the ran-

* The colossal hand, in granite, now in the British Museum, which was found by the French on the site of Memphis, is believed to have belonged to one of the statues mentioned by Herodotus as being near the temple of Vulcan.

sacking of such a cemetery would lead to the discovery of many curious antiquities. The solemnities in honour of Minerva at Sais, were reckoned to hold the third rank among all the festivals of Egypt.*

Not far from Amrus, the canal of Bahireh (or Boheireh) passes from the river in a north-westerly direction to the Lake Mareotis, forming a barrier for the province of that name against the sands of the Libyan desert; and about six hours further southward, the Rosetta river receives the *Bahr Yusuf* or *El Aearah*; called also the Canal of the Pyramids. At Nadir, the great canal of Menouf joins the Rosetta arm. This canal, which is thirty miles in length, was formally navigable throughout the year. Sir Robert Wilson describes it as "a noble work, appearing a large river, and always full of water, as the Nile flows into it with a fall of ten feet." But, owing to this circumstance, it occasioned such a diminution of water in the eastern arm of the Nile, that it was found necessary, in 1807, to close the mouth of the canal, which was done by order of the Pasha.

Sir F. Henniker, however, who ascended the Nile in 1820, during the inundation, entered this canal, and proceeded to Menouf, which he thus describes: "Menouf is a large village: the inhabitants call it a town. It is surrounded with an embankment of rubbish. At first, it is almost impossible to conceive how such mounds can be formed; but considering the cheapness of crockery ware, and the fragility of mud-houses, the laziness of people who never repair, and who are not compelled to carry rubbish beyond the

* See authorities in Clarke, vol. v. pp. 288, 290. The three principal festivals, according to Herodotus, were those held at Bubastis, in honour of Diana; those of Busiris in honour of Isis; and those of Sais in honour of Neith.

outskirts of the town, the wonder nearly ceases. At Menouf is a manufactory of mats, made of the rushes from Natron: they are exported throughout Turkey. No remnants of ancient buildings, except that in a mosque are some columns of cypoline and granite."* On leaving Menouf, this Traveller, wishing to explore the eastern branch, had his boat dragged over-land into a "garden ditch" communicating with the canal of *Karinein* or *Sheibin-el-Koum*, by which means he passed into the Damietta branch, and floated down to Semenhoud (or Semennud). The canal of *Sheibin-el-Koum* is, in fact, the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, which, at the place so called, divides into two branches; the western passing into the Rosetta branch near Farestak, and the other, called *El Melij* (or *Karinein*), flowing north-eastward by *Mehallet-el-Kebir*, and, at the distance of fifteen miles, joining the great canal of Thabanniye.†

* Henniker, p. 31. Sir R. Wilson says: "Menouf is a wretched place, and has a fort of a miserable construction." It stands, however, in the midst of a very fertile tract, and is said to be one of the healthiest spots in Egypt. Its ancient name is supposed to have been Panuf, and it was once an episcopal see under the patriarch of Alexandria, but its Greek appellation is unknown. It still gives its name to a province, of which it is the head town, called from it *El Menuffiye*. It is about twenty-four miles from the Fork of the Nile. About six or seven miles below the mouth of the canal of Menouf, near the eastern bank of the Rosetta river, and to the north of the island of Benu-Nasr, is the site of Ibshadeh, Beshade, or Pshati, the *Prosopis* or *Nicius* of the Greeks, which gave its name to the nome of *Prosopites*. In the same nome was Athor-baki, the *Atarbechis* and *Aphroditespolis* of the Greeks. See *Ency. Metrop.* art. *Egypt*.

† See page 49. The navigable canal which waters *Mehallet*, is also called the canal of *Belkinah*. *Mehallet-el-kebir* (*i.e.*, the great street) is now the capital of the western province, *El Gharbiyah*. Lucas, Sicard, and Pococke represent it as ranking next to Cairo in importance. "Though still the largest manufacturing town in the Delta, it has many streets in ruins. It had, till lately, the only silk-

Ascending the canal of Menouf, we arrive at the village of Beershamps (*Beer-Shemss?*) near which place a detachment of the British army were encamped for a fortnight in the summer of 1801. Dr. Clarke erroneously makes it stand upon the southern point of the Delta, whereas, in fact, it is situated at the angle where the canal of Menouf diverges from the great eastern arm of the Nile. The bifurcation of the river, where it divides into the Rosetta and Damietta arms, and which must be considered as the head of the Delta, is several hours further southward, at the place called *Batn-el-bacarah** (the cow's belly), supposed to be the ancient *Cercasdrum*. Here, then, will be the proper place to suspend our progress southward, for the sake of completing, so far as our materials will enable us, the description of Lower Egypt.

The first canal below the fork of the Delta, on the eastern side, is the canal of Moez, which, leaving the Damietta branch immediately below the ruins near Athrib, divides into two branches. The western, after a course of seventy-two miles, falls into the Lake of Menzaleh, about nine miles below the ruins of Tanis or Zoan, and is the Tanitic arm of the ancients. The Damietta river, which we are now to descend, is believed to be the Pathmotic or Bucolic branch. Yet Semenhood, D'Anville and Quatremère have supposed to be *Sebennytus*†, which gave its name to an arm of

manufactory in Egypt. Some mounds of earth near it shew the place of the ancient *Cynopolis*.—*Ency. Metrop.* art. *Egypt*.

* Sometimes erroneously written *Bahr-el-bacareh*, which we have inadvertently copied at p. 8. Twenty-seven miles below the Fork, on the western bank of the Rosetta arm, is Terraneh or Terranut, the Terenuthes of the Greeks, formally an episcopal see. It is now a mere village, the *entrepôt* of the trade in Natron; but heaps of rubbish and fragments of sculpture attest its ancient splendour.

† See *Ency. Metrop.* art. *Egypt*. “*Jemnuti*,” it is added, “the

the Nile, and to a distinct nome. It is now an inconsiderable place on the west side of the Damietta river. "The remains of an ancient building are to be seen here; that is," adds Sir F. Henniker, "a piece of masonry has been discovered and re-covered, but it is uncovered as often as any one will give *beksheesh* (money)." This town is celebrated for its numerous and excellent pigeons.

Two hours below Semennood, this Traveller tells us, he landed on the west bank opposite to Wheesh, and in half an hour reached the ruins of *Beybait*. "Here was once a granite temple, the material, the style, and the hieroglyphics of which rendered it, perhaps, one of the most beautiful in Egypt. There is not now one stone upon another, in the order they ought to be in: it is fallen into a mass like the temple of Hercules at Girgenti. An Arab of the neighbouring village gave me the following tradition: Mohammed, passing by this temple, applied to a Christian for a bit of bread; the Christian refused; the temple fell immediately, and the town went to ruin. You Franks, he added, come here to look for treasure, because your ancestors built these temples; there were a great many more in the kingdom, but Mohammed destroyed them all. The relics of *Beybait* are worth the visit: the hieroglyphics are on granite, beautifully sculptured, and there is nothing to disturb you but owls and jackals."

From this place, our Traveller floated down to Man-

Coptic name of Semennud, appears to signify the god of might; but it seems never to have been called Heracleopolis by the Greeks, as would have been the case, had it been consecrated to Hercules (*Jom* or *Jem*). Between Jemnuti (or Djemnouti) and Schennytus, there is, however, nothing in common; and for the present, Schennytus may be assumed to be Shelbin-el-koom.

soura, of which he gives no account. Van Egmont describes it as "a handsome town, delightfully situated on the eastern shore, and surrounded with gardens. It is nearly as large as Damietta, and we counted above twenty minarets in it. The houses, like those of Damietta, are built of brick. Here St. Louis, King of France, having, in the year 1250, been defeated and taken prisoner by the Saracens, was confined; and they still shew in the castle, the place of his imprisonment. Whether the town derives its name from this adventure, I will not presume to determine; *Mansoura*, however, in Arabic, signifies conqueror. From this place, we have the best sal-ammoniac. Some leagues up the country, are still seen the remains of a large city, anciently called *Themaise*, in Greek Θεις, (*Θευίς*), where, we are told, there is still subsisting a beautiful marble temple. The country people also, often find medals and stones with inscriptions." *

At Mansoura, Sir F. Henniker entered the canal leading to Menzaleh, and proceeded to a place which he calls Mersy. About four miles S.E. of this place is a mound of rubbish, to which he was directed in answer to his inquiries for antiquities. "The waters," he says, "were out; the way dangerous and intricate; a considerable part of the distance, we waded nearly breast-high. As to temples, there are only two small parcels of worthless granite. The rushes that grow here, are of a three-sided or prismatic form,—perhaps the papyrus. There were cattle upon the mound; and it was remarkable that, wherever a hoof had been impressed at the water's edge, the indenture was covered with a lamina of salt, having the appearance of ice; yet, the water is per-

* Van Egmont, vol. II. p. 59.

fectly fresh ; the sand alone is impregnated with salt. This excursion occupied four hours. From Mansoura to Menzaleh cost us three days, between which place and Mersy we saw other rubbish mounds, but were informed that there were not even stones there."*

Menzaleh is a large town, but would not deserve particular notice, were it not for the extensive lake to which it gives its name, and which abounds with fish and with fishermen, a savage and half amphibious race. A great deal of the fish is salted, and forms an article of trade with Syria. The islands of Matarriyeh in this lake, have been represented to be populous and covered with houses, some of brick and others of clay. In some of the islands, there are remains which attest the former existence of considerable towns. Sir F. Henniker, who landed at Matarriyeh, says : " Matarieh gives name to two small islands covered with wretched habitations. The trade consists in salt-fish and *podargue*.....Tennys has been thoroughly ransacked. The virtuosi have carried away every sign of its former grandeur, except a small cistern, incrusted similarly to those of the *Sette Sale* at Rome."† As he sailed over the lake, rows of pelicans, stretched along the smooth surface, had a very beautiful appearance. They resemble swans, but part of their plumage is rose-coloured, and glistens in the sun. In four hours he reached a wood of palm-trees, which extends from the shore of the lake to Damietta.

* Henniker, p. 33.

† " Tennis, the largest island in the lake, anciently Thennesus, was extremely populous and flourishing in the middle ages, being enriched by its excellent manufactures. In the ninth century, it had about 30,000 Christian inhabitants, but has now long been entirely deserted. Its walls, flanked with towers, some vestiges of baths, and some stuccoed vaults (probably reservoirs), are all the remains of this once wealthy city."—*Ency. Metrop.*, art. Egypt.

DAMIETTA.

DAMIETTA (the Dimyat of the Arabs and the Tamiati of the Copts), once the emporium of the eastern part of the Delta, is situated on the eastern bank, on the narrow neck of land between the river and Lake Menzaleh, about ten miles from its mouth. It does not appear to occupy the site of any ancient town of note, nor did it rise into consideration till the destruction of the more easterly mouths had brought almost all the maritime commerce of Egypt to its port. It may be considered, indeed, as having risen upon the ruin of Pelusium. As well as the neighbouring town of Tennis, it was also famed for the excellence of its manufactures. Idrisi, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, says: "In Dimyat, they manufacture excellent leathers and other materials for clothing, almost equal to those made at Tennis;" and he speaks of the "gown pieces" or "striped cloths" made at Dimyat and Tennis, as unrivalled in value and beauty. As these were all exported, probably, from Damietta, they became known to Europeans under the familiar name of dimity. Damietta was at that time regarded as the key of Egypt, and was fixed upon by the leaders of the sixth crusade, as the most important object of that expedition. It was taken by assault, but not before it had been reduced, by the horrors of famine and pestilence, during a siege of seventeen months, to a vast charnel-house. Of its population of 70,000, 3000 only were the relics. The mosques, the houses, and the streets were strewed with dead, and the conquerors marched through a pestilential vapour. After it had been eight months in the possession of the Latins, its surrender became

the price of a safe retreat for the invading army. This took place about A.D. 1218. In 1249, Damietta again fell into the hands of the Christians, in the eighth crusade, headed by Louis IX., and its surrender was a second time the price of safety. The city, however, which the Christians captured, was five miles and a half to the north of the modern Damietta, and was destroyed by the Moslems themselves in 1250; the present situation being probably chosen as more secure against maritime invasion.* In the fifteenth century, an Arabian writer describes Damietta as a considerable place, surrounded with gardens, and one of the principal sea-ports on the Mediterranean; carrying on a lucrative fishery and a large trade in sugar. He also notices the singularity and beauty of its birds and fishes.†

Van Egmont describes it as equal to Rotterdam in size, and handsomely built, the houses being all of brick, with several stories, and more slight than those of Constantinople. "It has a great many spacious khans or mansions for merchants, magazines for goods, and mosques, whose minarets give the town a grand appearance. Its chief trade consists in rice, wheat, and coffee, which the Franks, however, are not suffered to export. Its commerce renders it populous; and there is something very pleasing in the great number of small vessels which are continually coming in and going out."‡ As early as 1737, however, the bar at the mouth of the river had increased so much as not to allow even vessels of thirty or forty tons burden to cross it without being unladen; and its

* See Mills's Hist. of the Crusades, vol. II. p. 175.

† Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt. ‡ Van Egmont, vol. II. p. 55.

navigation has suffered still more from the enlargement of the Canal of Menouf.

Hasselquist (in 1750) describes the place in much less favourable terms than the learned Hollander. "Damietta," he says, "is a little town, built on the shore of the Nile, in the form of a half-moon, situated on the right hand in coming from Cairo. The Nile makes a little turning to the east before it reaches the sea. This reach, which is somewhat broader than the river in other places, stretches beyond the town, and serves for its harbour, which is fit only to receive the vessels of the town, the *musches* (*maashes*) from Cairo, *chembeks* from Cyprus, Syria, &c., *sheomeoni* from Alexandria, and other small craft of the kind. The European vessels must anchor in the open road, without the mouth of the Nile, where they are no longer safe, than while the weather favours them. In bad weather, they have no other chance than slipping their cables and running to sea, or stretching for the harbour of Cyprus. On this account, Damietta is a miserable place, and frequented by few European vessels. The houses near the ~~shore~~ are tolerably well built after the Egyptian manner; but those in the town are the most miserable huts one can any where see. I counted about twelve mosques....On one side of Damietta is a large river, or rather gulf,* which empties itself into the sea, and likewise receives an arm of the Nile; by which the land whereon the town is built, becomes an island. The mixture of sea and river water causes this gulf to be neither salt nor sweet, but between both....The Greeks alone have a church

* Lake Menzaleh is referred to. The fish caught are stated to be chiefly mullet (*burji*) and different species of *sciaena* *arted*.

in Damietta : it has a number of priests, and a pretty large congregation, particularly since a number of those Greeks who were driven from Cyprus by the tyranny of the Turks, have taken refuge here. There are some rich Greek merchants, and the inspector of the customs is a Greek, who pays 400 purses for his office ; but, in most of the Greeks here, their national misery shews itself. The Papiots have neither chapel nor missionaries here, which is the only place of any consideration in Egypt, destitute of this kind of apostles. The Syrian merchants, about 200 in number, and all considerable people, have two monks from the mountain of Lebanon, of the order of St. Anthony, who read mass in their chambers, which even the French captains frequent. The principal part of the inhabitants consists of Turkish janizaries, who are all merchants governed by *sirdahs* : most of them are rich, but then they are chiefly knaves and runaways, who, for great misdemeanours, having quitted Constantinople, Karamania, or the Islands, have taken refuge in Egypt, and there live in safety. There are many Greeks here ; a few families of Copts ; of Jews a pretty large number. The brokers are all Jews ; a few of them rich, but the greater part poor. They have no synagogue here, but worship God in their own private houses. The Franks were obliged to quit the place entirely, after the French had been expelled.* I left Damietta with pleasure, as it is the most miserable

* In consequence of a riot occasioned by what the French call an affair of gallantry, in which the French consul was detected. The remembrance of this circumstance is much more likely to have produced the strong prejudice against Europeans which is attributed to the people of Damietta, than, as Captain Light supposes, the tradition of the Crusade of St. Louis. Van Egmont charges the Syrians with exaggerating and fostering this prejudice,

place in Turkey for a Frank to dwell in. We had two hours' voyage on the Nile from Damietta to the sea: the shore on the right hand consisted of sand-hills, with reeds near the water, and on the left, rich land."*

Damietta is, however, still a place of some importance, being the great dépôt for rice: that which is produced in this district is the most esteemed of any in the Levant. Savary states the population at 80,000 souls,—an obvious exaggeration. A more probable estimate makes it 30,000. The official census referred to in a preceding part of this volume, † rates the native population at 13,600, which is probably below the truth; and as the proportion of Syrians, Turks, Jews, and other foreigners, has always been very considerable, it may be safely estimated at between 25 and 30,000. Capt. Light was surprised at its populousness. "It was with difficulty," he says, "we were able to pass through its narrow streets. The description of one town in the Delta and on its opposite banks, answers for all: houses of burnt or unburnt bricks; projecting casements that obscure the light, and seem incapable, from their being of wood, pierced with holes, of admitting it; small shops in the different bazars, in which a single man sits cross-legged on a board, dealing out his wares to the customers; narrow streets, and offensive smells. The gardens are of the same neglected kind as in other parts of Egypt: they are generally enclosed with reeds, espaliers, and brushwood, within which are plantations of palm and orange-trees. The rice-grounds are numerous, and irrigated by water-wheels.‡ The inhabitants of the town and the

* Hasselquist, pp. 110—115.

† Page 58.

‡ In another place, this Writer describes the tracts of rice-ground appearing above the waters, intermixed with willow and sycamore

fellahs of the country, being more immediately under the oppression of the Turkish chiefs, seem to have less energy than those in Upper Egypt. .

“ Damietta has little worthy of notice but its magazines of rice, which are large: those belonging to the Pasha would do credit to any European government. They are in an extensive oblong building, with a wooden colonnade along the front of the lower story; this is divided into a variety of apartments, in some of which the rice undergoes its processes of refinement. Previously to being used, it requires three operations. It is first placed in heaps, under a number of wooden levers, at the end of which are hollow tin canisters, with the hollow downwards, of six or eight inches long, and about three in diameter. The levers are raised by a wheel moved by two oxen, and strike the canisters into the rice, which is received into them, and is thus beaten without being bruised; the husks are shaken off, and after the third operation, the rice becomes white and fit for use, though a little reduced. One of these machines with four rammers, worked by two oxen, ought to purify forty *ardebs* (fourteen bushels and a half English ~~scrup~~) in a month.” *

We shall transcribe one more description of this town, furnished by a female pen. The Writer is a little disposed, perhaps, to view objects under the “magic violet tint” which she speaks of as overspreading an Egyptian landscape after the setting of

trees, as having (in August) an agreeable aspect; but the swarms of mosquitoes which the rice-grounds generate, prevented him from much enjoying the prospect.

* Light's Travels, pp. 128-132. Hasselquist states that, when it is clean, they add a thirtieth part of salt to the rice, and pound them together, by which the rice becomes white, which before was grey: after which fining, it is passed through a sieve, to separate the salt from the rice.

the sun ; but it is interesting to compare the opposite impressions produced by the same scene.

“ On leaving the boat, I was agreeably surprised with the most pleasing and diversified prospect. The city of Damietta is built on the right bank of the river ; and its first appearance reminded me of some of the quarters of Venice. The houses, looking all on this side towards the Nile and towards the country, with their balconies, terraces, and pavilions, have not such a dull, monotonous effect as most of the houses in the East, which, when seen from the street, resemble, with their flat roofs, and from their want of windows, a mere garden wall. Every house at Damietta has its own little port, to facilitate the approach of vessels of all kinds ; for the trade of this city, in coffee, rice, beans, and linen, is very brisk, and extends into Syria and all parts of the Levant. Numerous boats and gondolas, called *canjes*, elegantly decorated, were sailing up the river ; and, not to leave this moving picture without some contrast to give it additional interest, groupes of Turks were gravely seated before the houses, cross-legged, on rich carpets, smoking their long pipes with the most unalterable composure.” *

Baron Minutoli and his lady remained for some time in this city, during which the Writer continued to wear her European dress, without being subjected to insult from the detachments of Albanian soldiers whom they continually met with in their walks, although they were unaccompanied by a janizary ; a precaution found necessary at Cairo and in Upper Egypt. The security and even respect which the

* Recollections of Egypt by the Baroness Von Minutoli, p. 176. Who would suppose this to be the same place of which a recent traveller (Mr. Carne) thus speaks ? “ Few places can be more monotonous or stupid than Damietta, situated on a perfect flat.”

Christians now enjoy, in a city formerly notorious for its fanatical hatred of the Franks, is ascribed to the vigour and policy of the present Pasha.

" In these walks," continues the Baroness, " we often passed by the burying-ground, situated at some distance from the city. Small brick tombs, instead of a mound of earth, indicate the place of sepulture. I frequently saw women and old men sitting on these tombs in profound meditation. It seems, that the present inhabitants have inherited from the ancient Egyptians their veneration for the dead. Though they no longer embalm them, nor dig catacombs to deposit them, I have seen stone tombs in the poorest villages, the houses of which were built of clay. Diodorus says, that the ancient Egyptians displayed more magnificence and wealth in their tombs, than in their dwellings; alleging as a reason, that the houses of the living were only resting-places, whereas the tombs are permanent and eternal mansions.

" It was in one of our morning-walks, that we met with the papyrus-plant: it is a kind of *three-cornered reed*,* which is now to be found in no other part of Egypt than the environs of Damietta and the banks of Lake Menzaleh. The scarcity of this plant appears less strange, when we recollect what Strabo says on the subject of the papyrus; that the government, to secure a monopoly, caused it to be pulled up in a great part of Egypt, and suffered it only in some appointed districts, where its cultivation and the use made of it could be superintended. According to Pliny, the membranes of the plant were glued together in such a manner as to render the places at which they were joined imperceptible. Perhaps the ancients prepared

* This answers to Sir F. Henniker's description of what he supposed to be the papyrus. See p. 236.

the papyrus by pressing it, as is still done by the South Sea Islanders with their stuffs, which they also manufacture of the membranes of various plants, and which, in some measure, bear a close analogy to the papyrus of the ancients. We still find on the latter, indubitable traces of this process. Several papyri in my husband's collection, which are now in the museum at Berlin, have still such a degree of solidity, that twenty centuries have not been able to impair it ; and they may still be unrolled with the same facility as any other roll of paper or parchment. They are of a yellow or brown colour, according as they have been more or less exposed to the air. My husband is still in possession of one, the hieroglyphic figures on which are painted in very lively and various colours, in perfect preservation. A peculiarity which I have had occasion to remark, is, that the two ends of the papyrus are hermetically closed with a stopper of byssus covered with resin, which has so wonderfully preserved them from the influence of the air. M. Reynier says, that this plant was made use of in the manufacture of paper as late as the ninth century."*

Very opposite representations have been given as to the healthiness of this place. By some writers, the air, notwithstanding that the city is surrounded with water, has been stated [to] be very salubrious ; but during the months of May, June, and July, the rice-grounds uncovered by the waters, render it far otherwise. In the vicinity are extensive salt-pans, which do not contribute to its salubrity. The territory, with the city itself, is said to be threatened with serious danger from the encroachments of the lake towards the river, by which the peninsula is gradually diminishing.

* Recollections, pp. 191—6.

Another apprehension is, that this branch of the Nile, which is annually becoming shallower, may at length cease to be navigable. The want of a harbour must also operate at all times greatly to the disadvantage of its commerce; but this inconvenience is common to all the Egyptian ports except Alexandria. As to the apprehended sources of danger, it is probable that they, as well as the obstruction created by the bar, would yield before a spirit of enterprise guided by European science.*

The entrance to the Damietta river is guarded by two Martello towers, enclosed in a circular battery. That on the Delta side was built by the French, of masonry, and mounts seven or eight guns: it is well situated to defend the mouth of the river, and is protected from shipping at sea. The tower on the right bank, which is of brick, appears larger, and contains a mosque within the outer enclosure. About a mile from the entrance of the river, on the Syrian side, is a large fort of irregular shape, close to the river, and situated among marshy land intersected by rivers. It is said to have been repaired or enlarged, if not entirely built, by the French. When Capt. Light visited it, there were many guns, but all badly mounted and in appearance old: those towards the river were *en barbette*. The fort is revetted with brick, and without ditch or covert way; its scarp, about twenty feet, commanding all the country round; and the approach to it is rendered difficult by the nature of the ground. It seemed ca-

* There is, throughout the Delta, a small inclination from east to west, so that all the streams have a tendency towards the western arm. The observation of this fact by the French engineers, led them to predict such a diminution of water in the eastern arm, as has rendered it necessary to close at low Nile the canal of Menoof.

pable of containing a garrison of between 3 and 4000 men, but there were not, in 1814, more than thirty or forty soldiers. It has a good range of barracks, a mosque, and detached houses. The walls are weak. The principal entrance is from the river, and there is another on the south side.*

Of the country lying between the Rosetta and the Damietta arms, we have no detailed description. Between Damietta and Lake Burullos, is an extensive tract of desert or morass, supposed to be the *Elearchia* or *Bucolia* of the ancients, the country of marshes and buffalo-herds. This district was called by the Egyptians, *Bashmûr*; the name given also to a dialect of the Coptic. The savage Bashmurians lived sometimes in their boats, and sometimes among the reeds of the marshy banks; and such is said to be still the condition of the fishermen who inhabit the shores and islets of Lake Burullos. This lake, separated from the sea by a narrow sandy strip of coast, extends across a considerable portion of the basis of the present Delta. It takes its name from the ancient *Paralos* (or *Paralion*), situated on the western side of the Sebennytic mouth, which was formerly a place of some consideration, being an episcopal see subject to the patriarch of Alexandria. The Arabian name, *Burullos-el-rimal* (Burullos of the Sands), indicates the nature of the soil, which produces the finest water-melons (*cucurbita citrullus*) in the country. On the southern side of this lake was the ancient *Buto*, *Pteneto*, or *Phthenothes*, which was decorated with several splendid temples,

* Light's Travels, p. 261. This is apparently what the Baroness Minutoli calls the fort of Esbe. Hasselquist, describing the Damietta mouth nearly a century ago, says: "At the mouth of the Nile, on the left hand, was a tower, which, they say, was founded in St. Louis's age. On the right was a village, near which we brought-to for the night." Van Egmont calls the village Hisba.

particularly one dedicated to Buto, the Egyptian Latona, the nurse of Horus. It is now called Tentu, but little remains to attest its ancient magnificence. An island in the lake contained another celebrated temple, dedicated to Hermes, whence it was called Chemmis or Hermopolis. At *Busir-Benna*, there are some traces of the ancient Busiris (P'Osiris); and "at *Bohbeit-el-hijarah*, near the Isle of Xois, just below Semennoud, is a large enclosure full of sculptured fragments, the site of *Na-Isi* or *Iseum* (the town of Isis)." * The most populous town in the Delta now, is Tantah (Tandeta, Tantatho), said to contain upwards of 10,000 inhabitants. It is situated nearly in the centre of the Delta, in the midst of a very fertile tract, but is said to owe its prosperity chiefly to the wonder-working sepulchre of Seid Ahmed-el-Bedawi, a Moslem saint, born at Fez, but buried at this place A.D. 1199. "Twice a year, at the vernal equinox and summer solstice, thousands of pilgrims repair to say their orisons at his tomb, and obtain the pardon of their sins through his intercession. Not much less than 2800*l.* sterling is said to be annually expended by these devout and speculating pilgrims." †

* Ency. Metrop. from Champollion. This must be the *Beybait* of Sir F. Henniker. See p. 235.

† Their number has been estimated at 150,000: they come from Hedjaz, Abyssinia, and even Dar Fur. Denon speaks of a place called *Desuk* as the great centre of attraction to the Egyptian pilgrims. Proceeding from Rosetta through the villages of Madie, Elyusera, Abugueridi, Melahue, Abuserat, Ralaici, Beredi, Ekbet, Estaone, Elbat, Elsezri, Sufrano, Elnegars, and Madie-di-Berimbal, the detachment reached Berimbal at night; a distance of four leagues. The next day, at the end of twelve hours, passing through as many villages, they reached Metoobes, notorious for its *almachs* or dancing women. From this place, the Writer went to *Koum-el-hhemar* (the red mountain), so named from a mound of red bricks of indeterminate character, which is the only vestige of an ancient site. The

We must now return to Sir F. Henniker. Having again embarked in his little skiff, he sailed in four hours to Matarieh, his account of which has already been given. He thence steered for Sann, which he reached in twelve hours. "At Sann," he says, "are six obelisks, their bases varying from six to seven feet, on each a perpendicular row of hieroglyphics. They are all prostrate, but it appears that they did stand in a direct line drawn E. and W., in length about 160 yards. At each end are blocks of granite, so that this place was probably once worth seeing." The French found here, in 1800, fragments of seven obelisks, remains of a colossus, of monolithic temples, and other edifices of vast dimensions; and the ruins cover a vast extent of ground. There can be no doubt that these are the remains of the ancient

country eastward from this place towards Lake Burullos, is described as a mere uncultivated morass. The next day, they proceeded through Sindlon to Fua; thence to El Alavi and Therafa. To the north-west of the latter place are extensive but shapeless ruins, called *Koum-khamar-el-Medinah*; possibly Cabaza. The following day, passing through Gabrith, a village fortified with walls and towers, and Salmie, they reached the canal of Ssa-Idy, which is sufficiently wide for the passage of boats from the Nile to Lake Burullos. "Desuk, a large village, is distant from it about half a league, and has a mosque which is resorted to twice a year by all the nations of the east, and in which 200,000 souls pay their devotions. The *almehs* repair thither from every part of Egypt; and the greatest miracle which is performed by Ibrahim, who is so devoutly worshipped at Desuk, is to suspend the jealousy of the Mussulmans during the time that this festival lasts, and to allow the women the enjoyment of liberty." Not far from this village is *Sanhoor-el-Medin*, an ancient site, which exhibited, however, nothing but a heap of shapeless ruins. Further to the N.E. is another ruined site, called Shaabas-ammers, which was the limit of his excursion.—Denon's Travels, vol. i. c. 7. Malte Brun mentions a "monastery of St. Geminian in the north of the Delta," as a place of pilgrimage for both Christians and Moslems: the festival lasts eight days.

Tanis, which gave its name to the Tanitic arm of the Nile, on the eastern side of which it was situated, not far from its mouth; nor is there much room to question that Tanis is the Zoan of the Hebrew Scriptures, notwithstanding the learned doubts that have been raised by Bryant and Larcher.* “Surely, the princes of Zoan are become fools. Where are they? Where are thy wise men?”

From San, Sir F. Henniker proceeded along the Tanitic branch, to the opening called *Om Faredje*. This mouth is about a hundred yards in width, but too shallow for even the boats to pass. Dolphins were sporting round, which the sheikh who accompanied our Traveller, requested him not to fire at. Here he landed, and, after a three hours' walk, arrived at “the Bubastic mouth,” a hundred yards wide, which he forded, and found “knee-deep.” At a short distance, he came to an outpost of a Bedouin encampment, near *Djebel Romano*. This is a lofty ridge of sand, where, it is said, Pompey was killed; and hence the name, the Roman mountain. By the Arabs, our Traveller and his party were hospitably received. The next day, a march of four hours over a plain of

* Bryant (vol. vi. p. 359) confounds it with Tannys (Thennesus); and argues from this mistake. It is certain that Tanis was a royal residence, the seat of the twenty-first and twenty-third dynasties of Manetho: of the latter dynasty was Cetes or Proteus. Tanis is called San by the Arabs, as Tyre is called Soor; but in both cases, the Hebrew is different, Zoan or Zaan, and Tzor. By the Copts, it is called Jani. Bryant tells us, that Tzoan signifies the shepherd province, *i. e.*, abounding with flocks; but that is a different word from Zoan, which appears to signify a *lake* or *marsh*. See Calmet's Dictionary. The Chaldee renders *Zaananim*, marshes, Josh. xix. 33. Zoan is referred to as a chief city of Egypt, Numb. xli. 22. Psal. lxxviii. 12. Isa. xix. 11., xxx. 4. Ezek. xxx. 14. For an account of the situation and appearance of San, see Hamilton's *Ægyptiaca*, p. 382, and Denon, plate 17.

sand brought them to the site of Pelusium. Four columns of red granite and some few fragments of others, are the only remains of its boasted magnificence. The castle of Tinneh is a small stone building, with "broken, honey-combed guns." In the sandy plain they had passed over, a lamina of salt, about an inch thick, of a pale rose colour, was found on the surface of many hollows, forming natural salt-pans. Having regained Lake Menzaleh, they moored off the islet of Tennis. To the west of this is the island of Toomah, where is the tomb of a sheikh,—"a small room hung with strings of wooden beads, like a button-maker's shop, with a square frame covered with green cloth in the centre, on which is embroidered a text from the Koran." The next day, our Traveller visited the mouth "Debbee" (or Dibeh), supposed to be the Mendesian : "it is as impassable as the Bubastic branch, and is called the False Mouth." In the evening he returned to Damietta. Throughout this excursion, this Writer says, he could never find a stone or pebble : "the country is a lump of mud."*

Pelusium, called by Suidas "the Key," and by Ezekiel "the Strength of Egypt,"† was the last town on the Syrian frontier. It was situated a little to the east of the mouth to which it gave name, at the distance of two miles from the sea. It was guarded, not only by solid walls, but also by extensive morasses (*barathra*) on every side. These morasses form part of Lake Menzaleh. The walls, which still remain,

* Henniker, pp. 38—48. We transcribe from Malte Brun the geographical position of the following places: Dibeh, lat. $31^{\circ} 21' 24''$ N.; long. $32^{\circ} 8' E.$ Om Faredge, lat. $31^{\circ} 8' 16''$ N.; long. $31^{\circ} 51' 54''$ E. Island of Tennis, lat. $31^{\circ} 12' N.$; long. $32^{\circ} 12' 30'' E.$ Damietta, lat. $31^{\circ} 25' N.$; long. $31^{\circ} 50' E.$

† Ezek, xxx, 15.

are now ten miles from the sea. The last part of the Pelusiac arm, reduced to little more than a wide stream of mud, crosses the arid plain which intervenes between the lake and the sea. On its bank is the Turkish fortress called the castle of Tineh; and a little to the east of this are the ruins of Pelusium and Farama. M. Champollion supposes, that the latter was built by the Arabs after the sea had retired from Pelusium, so that it was no longer serviceable as a maritime town. “*Peremun*, the Egyptian name of Pelusium, whence the Arabs formed *Furama*, *Farama*, or *Fermah*, signifies *muddy*, as Pelusium does in Greek, *Sin* in Hebrew, and *Tineh* in Arabic; so that all the denominations of this celebrated fortress on the eastern frontier, referred to the peculiar character of the soil on which it stood.”*

* Ency. Metrop., art. Egypt. Bryant has cited, in support of his theories, some ancient routes, which may throw light on the obscure topography of this part. The first is that of Titus, who marched from Alexandria to Pelusium in his way to Palestine, viz.: from Alexandria to Nicopolis; thence by water to Thmuis (near Mansoura); thence to Tanis; to Heracleopolis Parva; to Pelusium. (*Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. iv. c. 11.*) The author of the Itinerary gives the places with their distances, beginning from the east.

From Pelusium to Heracleus.....	22 m. p.
— Heracleus to Thanis	22 (San.)
— Thanis to Thmuis	22 (Tmai.)
— Thmuis to Cyno	25 (Mehallet.)
— Cyno to Tavam	30
— Tavam to Andro	12 (Shabour.)
— Andro to Nithine	12
— Nithine to Hermopol.....	24 (Damanhour.)
— Hermopol to Chercu	24
— Chercu to Alexandria.....	20
<hr/>	
	213

Another route, from Pelusium to Memphis, makes the first stage, to Daphne, the ancient Taphaanes, 16 m. p. (Bryant's Anal., vol. vi.

The road from the sea to Memphis along the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, passed by Bubastis (Phi-Bast), the Pi-Beseth of Ezek. xxx. 17), some remains of which may still be seen on the south-eastern side of the canal of Moez, where it throws off what was anciently the Tanitic arm of the Nile. In *Tel-Bastah* (the hill or mound of Bastah), the Arabs have preserved a part of the ancient name. The ruins, which are visible at a great distance, are enclosed by a mound measuring three quarters of a mile each way, which marks the bounds of the ancient city, and appears closely to resemble the enclosure at Sa-el-hajar, described by Dr. E. D. Clarke. A fine fragment of a cornice adorned with hieroglyphics six feet high and eight broad, and an obelisk, the side of which was covered with stars, attest the ancient magnificence of the place. Bubastis was the capital of a nome, and is said to have been founded by Bochos, the first king of the second dynasty; and it was the seat of the 22nd dynasty of Manetho, to which is assigned a date extending from 970 to 850 B.C. It was famous for possessing a temple distinguished by the beauty and richness of its sculpture, and surrounded with a lofty grove, dedicated to Bubastis, the sister of Horus, the Egyptian Artemis or Lucina: the annual festivals celebrated here in honour of this goddess, held the first rank in the Egyptian calendar, and are said to have brought together more than 700,000 persons. To the north-east of Bubastis, on the eastern side of the Tanitic arm, was *Pharbasthus*, which gave its name

p. 355.) The site of this city (referred to Jer. ii. 16; xliv. 7; xliv. 1. Ezek. xxx. 17; and where Jeremiah, according to tradition, was buried) has not been ascertained; but was probably near Salahi-yeh, where the route from El Arish to Cairo separates from that which leads to the Delta.

to a nome, and was an episcopal see. It is now a mere village, surrounded with ruins, in the midst of a low, marshy plain, and is still called Pharbeit by the Copts, and Horbeit by the Arabs. A torso and the foot of a colossus were found here in 1798; but the extent of the mounds shews that it was not more than one-fourth the size of Bubastis. At the head of the canal of Moez (the Pelusiac arm), on the eastern side of the river, are the ruins of Athribis, which still bear the name of Athreb, or Atreeb. This was also an episcopal see under the lower empire, and appears to have been at one time a considerable place. Remains may still be traced for nearly three-quarters of a mile one way, and a mile the other: a square and two wide streets crossing each other at right angles, may be easily distinguished. It gave its name to the nome Athribites, but is now included, together with Pharbeit, in the province of Sharkiyeh.*

The route from Syria by way of El Arish, Katieh, and Salehiyeh,† runs from the latter place in a south-

* These topographical details are taken chiefly from the article in the Ency. Metrop. so often referred to, and rest on the authority of the French *savans*; more especially MM. Malus and Champollion.

† Salehiyeh is now the last town at which the traveller halts in his route to Syria, by the desert of Suez. On leaving it, the road plunges almost immediately into the desert, but a thick grove of palm-trees stretches along on the left for an hour. The first day's journey is to Cantara, distant about six hours, where is a large well of brackish water. The next day's route crosses several pools and inlets of salt water proceeding from Lake Menzaleh, and traces of a canal, which would seem to be part of the Pelusiac arm. Dr. Richardson mentions an old ruined bridge two hours beyond Cantara, (but to which it appears to have transferred its name,) where a long, winding canal, too deep to be forded except by dromedaries, bounds a beautiful verdant spot covered with flowers and shrubs. Had there been any fresh water near, he says, this favoured spot would probably have been enlivened by the residence of several

westerly direction to Belbeis (called by the Copts *Phelbes* or *Phlabes*), mistaken by D'Anville for Phak-bæthus. This was formerly the capital of the *Hauf*, one of the eastern divisions of Lower Egypt; and under the Arabian government, was a flourishing town, but had become ruined and almost deserted at the beginning of the fifteenth century.* It is pleasantly situated on an eminence, near a considerable mound of ruins extending north and east of the town; but these, consisting entirely of brick, do not indicate any ancient magnificence. The water at Belbeis is brackish, but it stands not far from the *Bahr Abu 'l Munejji*, which, beginning six miles below Cairo, runs for twelve miles to Belbeis, and thence passes into *Wadi Tumilat*; while a cut from it runs north-westward by Tel Bastah, and, after a course of ninety-six miles, falls into the canal of Moez. The *Bahr Abu 'l Munejji* (or *Ibn Menji*) is said to have been dug under the direction of a Jew of that name, A.D. 1112, who was shamefully requited for his skilful completion of the work. It communicates with the *Birket-el-Hadji*, or Pilgrim's Pool, which receives the Great Canal (*El khalij el kebir*) of Cairo. Between Belbeis and Abousal, Dr. Richardson mentions the village of Zamlé as extremely beautiful, surrounded with good cultivation, plenty of wood, and water

families. Although no ruins are mentioned, this has probably been an inhabited spot. Capt. Mackworth, at three hours and a half from Cantara, halted at Catieh, "where a village is said once to have existed;" but he "saw no traces of it: there are a few date-trees, a pool of rain water become brackish, and a well of water so salt that camels alone can use it." It is about five days' journey from Salehiyah to El Arish.—See RICHARDSON'S *Travels*, vol. ii. pp 178—191. MACKWORTH'S *Diary*, pp. 351—7. MOD. TRAV., *Palestine*.

* "It was an episcopal see, and perhaps the *Bubastis Agria* of Josephus. (*Antiq. Jud.* xiii.)"—*Ency. Metrop.*

formed into numerous lakes and canals, winding round the village and through the groves in every direction. At six hours from Belbeis is El Hanka, or Hanghé, a large and well-built village; and at *Birket-el-Hadji*, there is a considerable village, surrounded with palm-trees, where the Mohammedan pilgrims assemble previously to their setting out for Mekka. In the insulated tract between the canal and the Nile, is Kelyub, the capital of the south-eastern province of Lower Egypt, to which it gives its name: it was a large and flourishing city in the middle ages, but had fallen into decay as early as the fifteenth century. Thus, the whole of the way from the coast to Cairo, ruined sites and decayed towns are interspersed with miserable villages, the memorials of an extinct population, and the signs of existing misery and oppression. Most travellers escape all the inconveniences of the land route, by taking the high road of the Nile. Thirty-six hours will suffice to transport the stranger, who does not fancy himself in Egypt till he has caught sight of the pyramids, from Rosetta to Boulak, the port of

CAIRO.

ABOUT five hundred houses, from one to two stories high, almost heaped one upon another, occupy the banks of the harbour. The new-built palace of Ismael Pasha has, however, a somewhat princely appearance, presenting "a strange mixture of Italian, Greek, and Arabian taste: it has a wide front of handsome windows and balconies, Greek painting on its walls, much gilding on its iron work, and a wing for the harem quite eastern."* The traveller is still two miles from

* *Scenes and Impressions*, p. 154. Sir R. Wilson describes the

the capital. "Let me have a hackney-coach,"—*Si Signore, Signor si*, resounds from a crowd of *facchini*, and donkeys are brought: his luggage is carried to the custom-house.* "The ass of Cairo, even the hired ass," a lively and picturesque writer informs us, "is a lineal descendant of the *Sprightly* in the Arabian Nights;—a fine-sized animal, with a parti-coloured pack-saddle, having a high pommel covered with red leather, on which you may lounge, lean your hand, or suffer your reins to lie. He is provided with stirrups and bridle half European. Away he goes, trotting or cantering, the ragged driver running after him, and crying, *Taiceb, Signor, taiceb, lashy lee breed (lachez le bride)*. Whether you do or not, he carries you, winding his way between loaded camels, workmen's stalls, porters, beggars, crowds mounted and crowds on foot, in a manner that quite puzzles you. It is necessary to have your eyes open and your wits ready, or you will be knocked off by the mountain-load of

town of Boulak as having been reduced to one heap of ruins by the French during the siege of 1799. "A few wretched hovels and two or three barracks were the only remaining buildings of this once large and populous *faubourg*." In 1814, however, it had so far recovered as to be the most flourishing part of the city. "While Cairo appears neglected," says Capt. Light, "Boulak, its port, increases. New houses are built by merchants, to which they retire for change of air from Cairo. It contains the naval arsenal and dock-yard of the Pasha, the custom-house, and government warehouses."—LIGHT, p. 21.

* Henniker, p. 56. There is but one carriage in Egypt, the Pasha's; "a cardinal's at second hand, similar to our Lord Mayor's waggon," says this Traveller; "a pretty berlin," says the Baroness Minutoli, who had a ride in it. There are, indeed, scarcely any wheel-carriages. "All the time I was in Cairo," says Dr. Richardson, "I saw only one cart, which was drawn by buffaloes; it carried a dead man who had been shot in a scuffle a few minutes before." The streets are too narrow to admit of carriages.

some camel, or, what might be worse, you would run against some surly Albanian.

"A fine and rather wide bit of road leads from Old Cairo to the new city. Here you may look before and around you, and ask questions. Mounted on sleek, beautiful, well-groomed asses, you meet numbers of respectable-looking figures in their ample and distinguishing robes; the Coptic and Armenian merchants with dark robes and dark turbans; the Mohammedans in brighter colours, and turbans white or of shawls. Mingled with these, you may see Greek and Latin monks in their blue and black garments, with beards and turbans. There is green corn on each side of you (April). The city does look, as you approach, like a capital. You enter and cross the *Birket Eskebequieh*, an open, irregular square.* The houses on one side are lofty, latticed, mean, and out of repair, but novel and picturesque. To the right are the palaces of Ali Pasha, Ahmed Pasha, and other grandees; large white buildings, with a small garden before one of them, before the others bare walls, with nothing palace-like about them. Their front is to the

* "Place Bequier is a large open square, where most of the Beys resided; but many of their houses have been destroyed by the French: indeed, one whole side is in ruins. This place has, however, been otherwise improved by them, trees being planted on each side of the roads which cross the square at right angles, and fosses having been dug to retain the water, with the view of checking the dreadful quantity of dust which flies from the sand and ruins always in the evening....The palaces of the Beys are large; two or three of them are very fine buildings; particularly Cassan Bey's, where the Institute was held, and the house in Place Bequier, in which Kleber lived, and in the garden of which he was murdered."—SIR R. WILSON's *History*, p. 151. According to M. Nouet, the position of Cairo, as taken from the House of the Institute, is lat. $30^{\circ} 2' 2''$ N.; long. $31^{\circ} 18' 45''$ E.

street beyond, but they are not much better in appearance on that side. You pass out of this square, and again find yourself in Cairo's crowded streets.”*

A large wooden gate, which is closed at night, leads into the Frank quarter ; here are three hotels. One of them is the residence of the representative of his Britannic Majesty ;—an excellent house, with a small, but pleasant walled garden, to which, on certain days in the week, the principal Franks resort as a promenade. The Franks in general are by far the least respectable-looking class in Cairo. “Image to yourself,” says the writer above cited, “a set of needy, indolent, adventurous, dissipated, sharp-visaged men, whose offences, or fortunes, or hopes, have driven them from Trieste or Venice, Genoa or Marseilles ; and clothe them from the Monmouth-streets of those places, with such coats, hats, and caps as they alone can furnish ; and you have before you the *many* of that Frank population at Cairo, which represents the European and the Christian to the eye of the haughty Mussulman. Where is the merchant of Venice in his scarlet cloak ? Where the Genoese in his rich and glossy velvets ? That Cairo, the Cairo of the Khalifs, is no more ; but you shall yet see the streets along which they rode, the mosques in which they prayed, and the bazaars where the Jewish and Arabian merchants brought and displayed the costly goods of India to the purchasers from Europe.”†

“From the brilliant descriptions given me of the celebrated *Masr*,” says the modern Anastasius, “of the *kallish* (canal) that runs through its centre, and

* *Scenes and Impressions*, pp. 156-8.

† *Scenes and Impressions*, p. 158. “On a Sunday, all, however, are to be seen in something looking new. How they live, is a matter of wonder, as many are without employ.”

of the *birkets* (pools) that adorn its outskirts, I expected, if not an earthly, at least an aquatic paradise. On first reaching this vaunted city, I saw nothing but filth and ruins on the outside, and filth and misery within. So much, exclaimed I, for travellers' tales! 'So, too, said I,' echoed my companion, the Caireen, somewhat nettled, 'on first entering Stamboul.' What! would you compare Cairo with Constantinople? Where can you find the least resemblance? Is it between the vile offensive swamps, which here have confounded the river with its banks, and the verdant hills which there hem in the very sea? between the yellow, muddy stream here treasured up for refreshment in sooty pitchers, and the crystal rills there gushing forth from golden fountains? or, finally, between the smoke-dried men, tattooed women, and blear-eyed, bloated children of this overgrown, beggarly place, and our population of patriarchs, houries, and cherubs? In Constantinople, the very cemeteries of the dead look like portions of elysium: here, the habitations of the living already seem charnel-houses."*

"To describe the interior of the city," says Dr. Clarke, "would only be to repeat what has often been said of all Turkish towns, with this difference; that there is not, perhaps, upon earth, a more dirty metropolis. Every place is covered with dust; and its particles are so minute, that it rises into all the courts and chambers of the city. The streets, destitute of any kind of pavement, appear like a series of narrow, dusty lanes between walls. By means of the canal which intersects the city, and which was now (Aug. 12) filled with its muddy water, we visited a great part of Cairo in a boat. The prodigious number of

* Anastasius, vol. ii. p. 1.

gardens give to it so pleasing an appearance, and the trees growing in these gardens are so new to the eyes of a European, that, for a moment, he forgets the innumerable abominations of the dirtiest city in the world. The most beautiful among them, is the *mimosa lebbek*, which grows upon the banks of the canal, its long, weeping branches pendent to the surface of the water.....The gardens are filled with turtle-doves, whose melancholy notes suit the solitary disposition of the Turks. The houses of the city are larger and better built than those of Constantinople, the foundations being of stone, and the superstructure of brick and mortar; but they have the same gloomy appearance externally: the interior consists principally of timber.....In the best houses, the taste shewn in decorating the apartments, is of the kind called Arabesque. Where the windows are glazed, (they more frequently exhibit an open lattice-work,) they are ornamented with coloured glass, representing landscapes and animals, particularly the lion. No writer has paid any attention to the origin of the painted-glass in Cairo; yet, the glaziers of this city seem to have preserved an art which is supposed to be imperfectly known in Europe. From the open terraces in many of the principal houses, and from the flat roofs of all, the view is extended over the numerous gardens of the city. But every thing is disfigured and rendered uncomfortable by dust. All the foliage is covered with it, and the boasted vegetation of Cairo, instead of displaying that pleasing verdure with which Europeans, and particularly Englishmen, fill their imaginations, when reading descriptions of a city crowded with groves and gardens, rather exhibits the uninviting and uniform colour of the desert.....That its gardens, from the novelty of the plants found in them,

are sometimes pleasing to the eye of a European, may be admitted ; and it has been acknowledged, that the plantations adorning the sides of the canal, may for a short time render a stranger unmindful of the filth and wretchedness of the city. But the boasted lakes, or rather mud-pools, into which the waters of the river are received, particularly the famous *Esbequier Birket*, would certainly be considered nuisances in any part of the civilised world. The dam of the canal had been cut about three days when we arrived ; and every one was still telling of the rejoicings and ceremonies which that event had occasioned. We entered the canal in our *djerm* about noon, and after making the tour of nearly the whole city by means of the canal and a series of dikes filled with the muddy water of the river, we at last entered the Esbequier Lake at six o'clock p. m. Having crossed this piece of water, we landed, and went to the house we had hired, observing every where the same wretched appearances of dirt and degradation. How Europeans describing Cairo, can call any thing magnificent which is surpassed even by the poorest parts of Venice, is really surprising."*

Denon describes the distant view of Cairo as highly picturesque. At more than ten leagues from the city, in ascending the Nile, the points of the pyramids are discerned piercing the horizon. Soon afterwards, the ridges of the Mokattam are seen, and opposite to them, the Libyan chain, which forms a barrier against the sands of the desert ; " but, in the eternal conflict between this destructive scourge and the beneficent river, the inundation of sand often overwhelms the country, changes its fertility to barrenness, drives the

* Clarke, vol. v. pp. 73—110.

labourer from his house, covering up its walls, and leaves no other mark of vegetable life than the tops of a few palm-trees, which add still more to the dreary aspect of destruction." The vast distance at which the pyramids are distinguishable, gives them an "almost transparent hue;" and the blue tint of the sky causes their angles to appear sharp and well defined, though they have been rounded by the decay of years. As the traveller draws nearer Cairo, he sees numerous minarets surrounding Mount Mokattam, and proceeding from the gardens on the banks of the Nile; while Old Cairo, Boulak, and the island of Rhoda, appearing as part of the town, give it an appearance of verdure and freshness, and add to its seeming magnificence. "As we approached, however," continues this Writer, "the illusion vanished. Every object returning, as it were, to its proper place, we saw only a heap of villages near an arid rock, and remote from the beautiful banks of the river.

"I had resided nearly a month in Cairo," he adds, "and still I had to seek for 'the superb town, the holy city, the delight of the imagination, greatest among the great, whose splendour and opulence made the prophet smile;—for thus the Orientals describe it. I did indeed see a numerous population, and a vast extent of buildings, but not a single handsome street, nor one fine monument. The only place of consequence was Esbequier, the residence of Bonaparte; and this too has the air of a field; but, during the inundation, it pleases by its agreeable coolness, and by the nocturnal excursions made in boats, which have a striking effect. The palaces of this town are all surrounded with walls, which render the streets gloomy; and the habitations of the poor, which are still more neglected here than in other parts of the

country, add to the afflictive view of extreme poverty; though the climate allows of much carelessness in the article of shelter. One is tempted to ask, where were the houses inhabited by twenty-four sovereigns? Within these fortified palaces, however, some convenience and luxury are to be found: they are adorned with handsome marble baths and voluptuous vapour-stoves, saloons with mosaic floors, in the middle of which are basins and fountains of water, large divans composed of tufted carpets, raised beds covered with rich stuffs and magnificent cushions. The windows, when there are any, never open; and the day-light which they admit, is darkened by coloured glass and very close lattice-work; the light principally coming in through a dome in the ceiling." Speaking of the gardens, he says, they appeared by moon-light not unworthy of the florid description given of them by Savary. "We do not, indeed, here find those long alleys which are the pride of the French gardens, nor the serpentine walks of the English, where health and appetite are the reward of the exercise required to survey them; but, in the East, where indolent repose forms one of the chief luxuries, the tents or kiosks are reared under the thick branches of a cluster of sycomores, and open at pleasure upon a fragrant under-wood of orange and jasmin.

"The inhabitants of this country build as little as possible, and repair still less. If a wall threatens to come down, they prop it up. If, notwithstanding, it falls in, it only makes the fewer rooms in the house, and they quietly range their carpets by the side of the ruins. If, at last, the house falls altogether, they either abandon the spot, or, if they are obliged to clear it out, they carry away the rubbish to as short a distance as possible; which is the cause that, in

almost every town in Egypt, and especially in Cairo, the eye of the traveller is constantly arrested by heaps, or rather mountains of rubbish, the cause of which he is at a loss to discover." *

New Cairo, the present capital of Egypt, or, as it is called by the orientals by way of eminence, Grand Cairo, was built (according to Abdul Rashid) in A.H. 360, (answering to A.D. 971,) by the Khalif El Mansour, (or Almanzor,) the first of the Fatimite dynasty who reigned over Egypt. The name, properly *El Kahira*, signifies the victorious.† It is situated about a mile and a half from the Nile, and extends eastward nearly two miles to the mountains, being, according to Pococke, about seven miles in circumference. It is surrounded with a stone wall, surmounted by fine battlements, and fortified with lofty towers at every hundred paces; which is said to have been the work of Salah-el-Din (Saladin), about A.H. 572 (A.D. 1176). There are three or four beautiful gates built by the Mamlouks, uniting a simple style of architecture with an air of grandeur and magnificence. The Canal (*Kalish*) which traverses it, comes off from the Nile a little below Old Cairo, and having passed through immense and innumerable heaps of rubbish, enters the new city on the south, goes out on the north, and winding round by the northern wall, enters again on the west, and ends in the *Birket Esbequier*. The figure of the city is nearly that of a quadrant, being

* Alkin's Denon, vol. i. pp. 255-7; 273-9.

† The city was, properly speaking, founded by the Khalif El Mansoor's general, Jawhar, or Gehor, a Moggrebin Arab, (or, according to other authorities, a Dalmatian Mamlouk,) A.H. 358. He laid the foundations under the horoscope of Mars, and for that reason gave the new city the name of *Al Kahirah*, the victorious; an epithet applied by the Arab astronomers to that planet. It became the residence of the Khalifs of Egypt in A.H. 362.

square towards the north and east, and circular towards the south and west. The canal is from fifteen to twenty feet broad. From the river to the city, Norden says, it is only "an ill-kept ditch." Along this canal there are a number of square excavations, which, during the inundation, seem so many small lakes or ponds, and, when covered with pleasure-boats, present a lively appearance. On the subsiding of the waters, these ponds are converted into offensive marshes; but, being quickly dried up by the intense heat of the sun, they are soon covered with the most brilliant vegetation. It is to this singular transformation which every thing in Egypt periodically undergoes, that we may in part ascribe the enthusiastic descriptions of the orientals, and the very opposite and discordant representations of European travellers.* The canal, when dry, becomes a theatre for jugglers, tumblers, and other performers of a similar kind. As the opening of this canal is an important event in the Egyptian year, and may be considered as in fact the Lord Mayor's show of Cairo, a particular description from an eye-witness will not be unacceptable to our readers.

* Three of these ponds are within the city; the *birket-el-fil* (elephant pond) and *birket-el-karoon* (pond of the horns) on the east of the *Kalish*, and the *birket esbequier* on the west. Five more are without the walls; they are called *birket-el-nassr* (the pond or lake of victory), *birket-el-Kahira* (lake of Cairo), *birket-el-Omar*, *birket-el-Guni*, and *birket-el-rotola*. Though poor substitutes for the river, they are great conveniences for the inhabitants, while the inundation continues; but, for seven or eight months in the year, they are nearly dry and covered with dust and sand. The *birket-el-Kahira* is the only one in Cairo that produces the lotus. "We saw it growing in heaps," says Dr. Richardson, "in the middle of the lake; but all its bloom was shed, and we were about a fortnight too late for seeing the flower." (vol. i. p. 62.) The author was at Cairo the last week in September.

As soon as the waters of the Nile begin to increase, the mouth of the *Kalish* is closed with a little mound of earth, on which is placed a mark to indicate the time for opening this canal and all the others in the kingdom.* "The 16th of August," says Mr. Carne, "was the day fixed on for the celebrated cutting of the bank of the Nile; a time of great rejoicing with the Egyptians, the inundation being now at its height. It is the custom for a vast number of people of different nations to assemble and pass the night near the appointed spot. We resolved to go and mingle among them, not doubting that something highly interesting would occur. We arrived at the place about eight at night, it being distant a few miles from the city. There was firing of cannon, illuminations in *their* way, and exhibitions of fire-works. The shores of the Nile for a long way down from Boulac, were covered with groupes of people, some seated beneath the large-spreading sycamores, smoking; others gathered around parties of Arabs, who were dancing with infinite gayety and pleasure, and uttering loud exclamations of joy, affording an amusing contrast to the passionless demeanour and tranquil features of their Moslem oppressors. After some time, we crossed to the opposite shore. The scene was here much more interesting.

* See Norden, p. 41. Dr. Clarke says: "Some of our officers saw the pillar or statue of mud which is raised every year between the dike of the canal and the Nile, called *Anes*, the Bride, and which is afterwards carried away by the current." This curious custom is supposed to have given rise to the tradition, that the ancient Egyptians annually sacrificed a virgin to the Nile; which horrid custom, according to Murtadi, an Arabian writer, was abolished by the Khalif Omar. That such sacrifices, if ever made by the ancient pagans of Memphis, should have been continued down to the time of Omar, is next to impossible. See Clarke, vol. v. p. 109, *note*; and Gibbon, c. li., note 128. Niebuhr states, that the pillar serves as a sort of nilometer.

Ranks of people were closely seated on the shelving banks of the Nile ; and behind them was a long line of persons selling various articles of fruit and eatables. A little to the left, amidst widely scattered groupes of trees, stood several tents, and temporary coffee-houses canopied over, and lighted with lamps. Perpetually moving over this scene,—both shores and river, and groupes of palms,—being illuminated by the most brilliant moonlight,—were seen, Albanian soldiers in their national costume, Nubians from the burning clime of further Egypt, Mamlouks, Arabs, and Turks. At a number of small sheds, each of which had its light or small fire, you might have meat, fish, &c. ready dressed. We entered one of the coffee-houses, or large tents, to the top of which a row of lamps was suspended ; and, the front being open, we could sip the refreshing beverage, and still enjoy the animated spectacle around. Being much fatigued, I wrapped my cloak round me, and slept for a couple of hours upon a rush mat on the floor, so soundly as to hear nothing of a loud and desperate quarrel between some Arabs and Albanians in the same tent ; but there was little cause for uneasiness in any situation while my faithful Michelle was near ; he knew so well the manners of these people, and possessed such perfect presence of mind. The night was wearing fast away, and leaving the tent, we again joined the various parties in the shade or on the shore ; some feasting and dancing, others buried in sleep. The other side of the beautiful river, which shone like glass in the splendid light, still presented a gay appearance ; lights moving to and fro among the trees, boats pushing off with new comers, and sounds of gayety, with the firing of musketry, being still heard.

“ At last, day broke, and soon after, the report of a

cannon announced that the event so ardently wished for was at hand. We proceeded to the spot, around which immense crowds were rapidly gathering. The high and shelving banks of the canal, into which the Nile was to be admitted, were crowded with spectators. We obtained an excellent situation for observing the ceremony, by fortunately meeting with Osmin, a Scotch renegade, but a highly respectable man, and the confidential servant of Mr. Salt. The Kiaya Bey, the chief minister of the Pasha, soon arrived with his guards, and took his seat on the summit of the opposite bank. A number of Arabs now began to dig down the dike which confined the Nile, the bosom of which was covered with a number of pleasure-boats, full of people, waiting to sail down the canal through the city. Already the mound was only partly demolished, when the increasing dampness and shaking off the earth induced the workmen to leave off. Several Arabs then plunged into the stream, and exerting all their strength to push down the remaining part, some openings were soon made, and the river broke through with irresistible violence. For some time, it was like the rushing of a cataract. According to custom, the Kiaya Bey distributed a good sum of money, throwing it into the bed of the canal below, where a great many men and boys scrambled for it. Several of them had a sort of net, fastened on the top of a pole, to catch the money as it fell. It was an amusing scene, as the water gathered fast round them, to see them struggling and groping among the waves for the coin ; but the violence of the torrent soon bore them away ; and there were some who had lingered to the last, and now sought to save themselves by swimming, still buffeting the waves, and grasping at the money showered down, and diving after it as it disappeared.

Unfortunately, this sport costs, every year, a few lives ; and one young man was drowned this morning. The different vessels, long ere the fall had subsided, rushed into the canal, and entered the city, their decks crowded with all ranks, uttering loud exclamations of joy.

“ The overflowing of the Nile is the richest blessing of Heaven to the Egyptians : as it finds its way gradually into the various parts of the city and neighbourhood, the inhabitants crowd to drink of and wash in it, and rejoice in its progress. The vast square called the Birket, which, on our arrival, had presented a sad and dreary area, was now turned into a novel and beautiful scene, being covered with an expanse of water, out of the bosom of which arose the fine sycamore-trees. On one side of this square is the palace of the Pasha ; on the opposite side is the Coptic quarter : the palace of the chief of the Mamlouks, of a poor appearance, with some houses, fortifications, and ruins, forms the rest of this square. In walking round the city, and observing so many flat and naked parts, destitute of verdure, and encompassed with piles of ruins, one can hardly conceive how the waters can ever reach them ; but every day, after the cutting of the bank, it is interesting to see how, silently and irresistibly, space after space is changed from a dreary, useless desert into a smiling bed of water, which brings health and abundance with it. The sounds of joy and festivity, of music and songs, are now heard all over the city, with cries of ‘ Allah ! Allah ! ’ and thanks to the Divine bounty for so inestimable a blessing.” *

Cairo contains, of course, like every Mohammedan

* Carne’s Letters from the East, vol. i. pp. 98-103.

capital, a vast number of mosques ; and some are very splendid, being ornamented with many beautiful granite columns, the plunder of Heliopolis and Memphis. Some are said to contain as many as five hundred, and others even a thousand columns, as the ruined mosque that stands between Old and New Cairo. The largest in Cairo, Dr. Richardson says, is the mosque of Azhar ; it stands in the middle of the city, and is much frequented by the indigent blind, many of whom are maintained out of the revenue attached to the establishment.* The mosque of Sultan Hassan, built near the gate leading to the castle hill, is also

* Van Egmont says: " Among the multitude of mosques at Grand Cairo, the finest and largest, and, at the same time, the richest, is that of *Elgami Lazar*, i. e. the church of Lazarus. We were told that, every day, between five and six thousand persons received their subsistence from it, and that every night two thousand lie in it. It was added, that the persons belonging to it, and those who partake of its revenues, amount to 40,000 ; though many of them live in different parts of the country. This opulent mosque is, however, a very terrible structure to strangers not acquainted with the customs of the country ; for, if any person happens to enter it, he is immediately thrown into prison, where he has no other choice than to turn Mahometan or suffer death."— Vol. ii. p. 67. This would seem to be the mosque above referred to. But the celebrated mosque of *El Azahar*, i. e. mosque of flowers, was famous for the celebrated school attached to it, founded by the Khalif Al Moez, to which learned men of every tribe formerly resorted, and the sons of sheikhs and beys came for education. Van Egmont was assured, that there were above fifty professors or masters on the establishment, and that the number of scholars and other persons then belonging to it, amounted to 13,000. " These masters also judicially determine all disputes and processes cognizable by law, and for this reason it is that no mufti resides at Cairo, as is common in other cities of the Turkish dominions." Ali Bey (Badhia) mentions it as the favourite resort of the Moggrebins as far west as Morocco. It has now lost its celebrity. " Fez, the Athens of Western Africa, El Azahar, the portico of the East, and Mekka, their holy city, are all nodding to their fall." See Jowett's Researches, p. 120.

large, although inferior in size to that of Azhar : it is in the form of a parallelogram, and has a deep frieze running all round the wall, adorned with Gothic or Arabesque sculpture.

The castle is situated to the east of the town, on a projecting point of Mount Mokattam. It completely commands the city, but is itself commanded by a higher ridge of the mountain behind, where a square fort of masonry, large enough for a garrison of four hundred men, has been erected by the present Pasha.* The road to the castle is cut out of the rock, in some places into steps, but can be ascended by the traveller without dismounting. The gates present an imposing appearance. The interior is very spacious, and contains many houses in ruins. The Pasha's palace is a small, plain building without any exterior decoration, except a greater number of glass windows in front than Turkish houses usually have. It gives the idea altogether of an officer's quarters in ordinary barracks. Lord Valentia was received in the room which was formerly the *zenana* of the Pasha, when he lived in the citadel. In the middle is a fountain, but, in other respects, it has nothing but its size and its consequent coolness to recommend it. It commands a view over the walls towards Old Cairo and the Pyramids. His Lordship was thence conducted to the mint, where they coin in gold, sequins, half sequins, and

* See Light's Travels, p. 259. This fort is approached from the intervening valley by a sloping causeway, about sixteen feet broad, on high, narrow arches. It is built about a hundred yards from the crest of the hill, the ground in front being cut away into an esplanade. It is of masonry, casemated, and bomb-proof against small shells. The principal entrance is to the west, and there is a sally-port to the east. The other parts of the Mokattam behind, command the fort at about musket-shot distance; but the neighbouring ground is completely isolated, and might be fortified so as to form a mutual support with the fort.

quarter sequins, and in silver, piasters and paras.* As these are much debased, the profits of coining are considerable, bringing in from 1000 to 1200 purses. The machinery for striking the coin is similar to that used in Europe before the inventions of Mr. Bolton, but of inferior merit. In the middle of the fortress is the famous well, which retains the name of the extraordinary man by whose orders it was sunk ; Youssouf, better known as Saladin. Dr. Richardson has furnished the best description of this vaunted work.† “ It is about 45 feet in circumference at the orifice, and is perforated through the soft calcareous rock to the depth of about 270 feet, where it opens a spring of brackish water on a level with the Nile, from which it is derived, having acquired the saline impregnation from the ground it has filtered through. The water is raised in buckets by two wheels, each drawn by a buffalo. One of the wheels is at the top of the well ; the other at the depth of 150 feet. The shaft is descended by a broad, winding stair, with a low para-

* Norden mentions the following pieces of money as the currency of Egypt in his time: the *maidin*, or *parah*, a piece of iron silvered over, about the size of a silver threepence, worth about three-farthings English ; the *fendoukli*, a gold piece worth 146 *maidins* ; the *genzerli*, a gold coin worth 110 *maidins* ; the *mabbut*, of the same value. The sequin of Venice is equal to 154 *maidins*. The piaster, 33 *maidins*.

† This is not, in fact, the only work of the kind in the neighbourhood of Cairo. M. Maillet found five other wells of a similar description in the ruins of Old Cairo, at the foot of the mountains. As an example of human labour, Niebuhr considers it as not comparable to the works of the ancient Hindoos, who have excavated whole pagodas in the hardest rocks. “ Yet,” says Dr. Clarke, “ if the skill which has been shown in the excavation be considered, the perforations for admitting light all the way down, and the general perfection of the work itself, it may be compared to the labours of the ancient Egyptians, rather than to any modern undertaking.”

pet, both cut out of the rock. The steps are easy, but dirty and slippery. Arrived at the wheel, we found an ample space round it: the driver sat upon the frame, smoked his pipe, and drove round his buffalo in tolerable comfort. From this place, the descent is not quite so commodious. Entering by a narrow opening, it leads down a narrow stair without any parapet, to the depth of 120 feet: the descent is extremely disagreeable, and it is not worth the trouble, merely to see a pool of brackish water. Such as it is, however, when raised to the surface, it is conducted in pipes all over the citadel, to irrigate the gardens, and keep alive the little verdant sod within its walls; and were the fortress besieged, this would be the only water the garrison could obtain."

From Joseph's Well, Lord Valentia was conducted to the divan, "which has nothing to recommend it but its great size, being 149 feet long, 86 broad, and between 30 and 35 high. Formerly, indeed, it was splendidly ornamented, but now it is rapidly falling into decay. The French used it as a hospital, for which it is admirably adapted. The view hence, as from every part of the ramparts, is very beautiful, extending over the ruins of Old Cairo, the suburbs of Boulak and Djizeh, the great pyramids, the pyramids of Sakhara, and the Nile. The new and the old citadel cover a great extent of ground: they were formerly separated, but the French opened a communication between the two. All the splendid remains of antiquity are in the new citadel, where is also a very handsome *place d'armes*. The houses are chiefly in ruins. In the old citadel are a great many houses in better condition, but no noble public building. The walls have a parapet and towers at equal distances, of two or three stories high, built of solid stone with vaulted roofs, in each of which

are cannon." From the divan, the noble Traveller proceeded to the hall of Joseph, "a noble apartment, but in ruins: four enormous pillars of red granite, each of one piece, sustained the roof, which is now gone. The capitals are Egyptian, and seem to have been removed from some more ancient building."*

"We next passed," continues his Lordship, "to a very noble room, supported by numerous pillars of granite, each a single piece: all of these, except four, were Egyptian; the others had Corinthian capitals. The roof had fallen in, but, at a great height, a cornice of wood four feet broad, still remained, ornamented with inscriptions from the Koran.† All the pillars appear to have belonged to some more ancient building.‡ Opposite to this room is another, which overlooks the city: it had been entirely covered with mosaic, of which a considerable part remained, though the buildings themselves had fallen to ruins, and were now filled with rubbish, instead of being occupied by the manufacturers who used here to embroider the rich covering of the *Kaaba* at Mekka.|| It is indeed a melancholy circumstance, that the many splendid

* Valentia's Travels, vol. iii. p. 365.

† Among these, Mr. Hammer deciphered one in excellent preservation, which seems to establish the tradition respecting the date and founder of the building: it is to this effect: *Salah-ed-din, destroyer of infidels and heathens.*

‡ This is the saloon usually called Joseph's Hall by travellers, although Lord Valentia distinguishes it from the one previously described under that name. Sir F. Henniker says, it contains "thirty-two well-proportioned columns of red granite, four feet in diameter." Part of it is now converted into a magazine, part into a granary; and the whole has a very dilapidated and melancholy appearance.

|| In Pococke's time, who says: "This part of the castle is now only used for weaving, embroidering, and preparing the hangings or coverings they send every year to Mekka."—See MOD. TRAV. ARABIA, p. 240.

remains of the ancient sultauns, which the citadel contains, should be so rapidly disappearing." Dr. Clarke says, that the French did great injury to all the apartments, destroying, more especially, the Mosaic paintings with which the stately cielings and walls were ornamented, and which correspond, in a striking manner, to the Mosaic ornaments of St. Sophia at Constantinople. The walk along the ramparts, on this side, is as beautiful as on the other, commanding a view of New Cairo with its numerous domes and minarets, intermixed with trees, the river beyond, the Island of Rhoda, thickly planted with sycamores, the verdant plain, and the pyramids. The line of forts erected on the different hillocks from the citadel to the Nile, are seen to a considerable distance to the right; the aqueduct of Old Cairo extends to the same distance on the left; and the noble mosque of Hassan forms a bold foreground to the view, looking towards the N.E. Few spots present, in so small a compass, such an extraordinary assemblage of interesting objects. Ancient and modern times are strangely blended in the associations which they awaken. Towards the north-east, the obelisk of Heliopolis and the ruins of Matarea stretching towards the fields of Goshen, recal the days of the Pharaohs, of Joseph and Moses. Westward, the site of Memphis, with its pyramids in the background, at the base of the Libyan mountains, calls up ideas connected with the romantic annals of Egypt in the day of her glory. Below, the aqueduct, the Saracenic fort, the dome and minaret, the mosque, the monastery, the mounds of ruins, and the eternal Nile, preserving, amid all the revolutions of four thousand years, its beneficent course, combine to form a scene unrivalled, perhaps, in its picturesque and impressive effect.

Old Cairo, now called *Fostat** and *Misr* (or *Masr*) *el Atteek*, that is, Old Misr, is supposed to occupy the site of the Egyptian Babylon, which was built, according to Strabo, by the followers of Cambyses, and named after their own metropolis. "The city of Misr," says Idrisi, "is named in the strange tongue, the city of Babilonah, and is now a large and flourishing city: its length and breadth are each nine miles." It was first made the seat of government by the Mohammedan conqueror Amru Ibn el Aasi, about the year 640. It is now reduced to a very small compass, not being above two miles in circumference. Norden

* The following account of the origin of this name, is given by Benjamin of Tudela, on the authority of Elmacin, an Arabian writer. "Amru Ibn Alash, general of the Khalif Omar, having taken Misraim, encamped there. When they came to remove his tent or tabernacle, they found in it a pigeon's nest with several young ones. Amru said: It is the month of Maharram: we are forbidden to kill the least thing. He thereupon ordered his people to leave his tent there, and to take care of the pigeon. They founded there a town, which they named *Fustaat*, that is to say, Tent or Tabernacle. Amru, having taken it A.H. 20, (A.D. 641) environed it with a wall." (Cited in Light's Travels, p. 22.) Another writer cited by Renaudot, gives a somewhat different explanation: "Cairo, in the Arabic. *Cahar*, he hath overcome, was so called by the Saracens in commemoration of their victory, they having taken it from the Greek emperors, and afterwards enlarged it; so that it answers to the Greek word Nicopolis. Al Moez-ledau-alla, the fourth of the Fatimites, gave the above name to this city, which was formerly called Babylon. Under Amru Alhasus, general to Calif Omar, it was called *Fossatae*, or moated, the tents being pitched there, and a ditch or moat of circumvallation thrown up round it for fortifying the camp." (In Van Egmont, vol. ii. p. 66.) This account so far tallies with the story above cited, as to render it probable, that Fostat was originally built on the ground on which the Saracens encamped before Babylon, rather than on the site of that city. Pococke asserts, that a *third* city, "called *Kebaseh*," was built between Old and New Cairo, which has since been destroyed, of which the ruins may now be seen; but he does not cite his authorities.

thus describes it nearly a century ago. "This ancient city is situated on the border of the great canal that separates the island of Rodda from the continent. Its length, to reckon from the machine that raises the water of the aqueduct, quite to the bazar, is a quarter of a French league ; and its greatest breadth, from the Monks' hospital to the canal, is 500 paces. The rest is very unequal. The greater part of the buildings, except the habitations of workmen, consists of houses of pleasure, where the great men and persons of distinction at Cairo go to divert themselves at the season when the waters of the Nile have begun their increase. But the gardens are in great number ; and palm-trees, as well as vine-arbours, take up a great deal of ground. There may be at Old Cairo, a half dozen of mosques adorned with minarets ; the Jews have there a synagogue ; the Roman Catholics a hospital, occupied by the fathers of the Holy Land ; the Copti, a convent (*contrade*), with divers churches ; among others, that where the grotto is, in which a tradition runs, that the Holy Virgin reposed herself when she retired into Egypt ; and the fathers of the Holy Land pay the Copti a certain sum annually, to have the privilege of saying mass in this grotto as often as they please. The water-house is a work of the Saracens : it might have served anciently as a palace. At present, one sees there four mills that turn ropes of vile earthen pots ; oxen work them ; and it is this that furnishes with water the aqueduct which supplies the castle of Grand Cairo. The whole is built of free-stone. One of the most considerable edifices is Joseph's Granary. It occupies a square surrounded with a wall, and they have contrived within it divers partitions. They deposit there the corn that is paid as a tax to the Grand Signior, and which is

brought from different cantons of Egypt. This corn, that continues there quite uncovered, feeds every day a great number of turtle-doves and other birds that come to pillage it. The doors are shut with only wooden locks, but the inspectors of this granary, after having shut a door, put on it their seal upon a handful of clay, which they make use of as wax. This granary has nothing antique: its walls are partly of the time of the Saracens. They have employed in them some free-stone; but the greater part is of bricks and clay, such as they make use of every day at Cairo for building.

“ In the neighbourhood of Cairo, particularly towards the east, one discerns nothing agreeable to the sight. It is all barren hills, that seem to be composed of ashes and rubbish. It may be said, that the town is entirely open; for it has only, on the eastern side, a little piece of a wall which has subsisted ever since the time of the Saracens: they have contrived lodgements in it, to which the peasants bring their poultry and other commodities for sale. There may be a quarter of a league from Old Cairo to the inclosure of Grand Cairo, and half a league from Old Cairo to Boulak.”

Dr. Richardson visited the holy grotto, and we shall avail ourselves of his description of Old Cairo. “ We passed through the Moggrebin quarters, and in a short time were without the walls of the city. After which, the track (it cannot be called a road) is continued among heaps of rubbish, consisting of the cleanings of the city, broken pottery, and the ruins of former buildings, that wall the traveller on each hand, to the walls of Massr, Fostat, or Old Cairo; with the intervention of a small grave-yard, where the Mahomedan females go to weep and howl over the tombs of their

departed relations, and a drill-ground, in which the Pasha exercises his troops every Tuesday and Thursday, in firing at the target or throwing the *djereed*. Before reaching the town, we passed by an aqueduct with many arches, which conveys the water of the Nile to the castle,* and the bridge of the *khalish*. Opposite to this ancient city is the island of Rhouda, which, we learn from Strabo, was joined to Babylon by a bridge of boats, when Memphis, in her metropolitan pride, occupied the opposite bank. At the gate on our left is a manufactory of saltpetre. Having entered the town, we proceeded along a straight street, till we came to the place where the passage-boats land from Gheesa; where, turning to the left, we filed up a narrow lane, and proceeded to the Coptic church, to see the grotto of Saint Sergius, in which Joseph and Mary (are said to have) dwelt with the infant Jesus. This holy place is now formed into a small chapel, and is entered from the sanctuary of the church by a descent of ten steps. It is divided into three compartments by two rows of columns, after the manner of our cathedrals. Going down from the left hand side of the church, (for there are two entrances,) there is an altar at the end of the first compartment, at which, though the whole chapel belongs to the Copts, and must be entered through their church, yet every Christian, of whatever sect, is allowed to perform his devotions according to the rites of the church to which he may belong. At the end of the middle compartment is the cave, which is covered, in the form of a small arcade, with smooth stones or tiles, cemented

* Denon says: "The aqueduct which brings water to the castle by a route of 160 fathoms, would be a work of art worth celebrating, if, in its course, it was not rendered faulty by many imperfections."

with lime, and very much resembles a baker's oven. According to the statement of the hierophant, it was fitted up in this manner by Saint Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, and has remained untouched from that time to the present day. It is so small, that a person can merely creep in and sit down in it. At the end of the third lateral compartment, there is a large baptismal font belonging to the Copts, who perform the ceremony by immersing the child. The whole has very little appearance of being a natural grotto; and the report of its ever having received the Saviour of mankind, is, probably, one of the pious frauds of St. Sergius, or some of his equally crafty successors.

“ From this holy cave, we proceeded to the adjoining castle of Babylon, to pay our respects to the Greek patriarch of Alexandria, who resides in the highest pinnacle of this lofty edifice. The ascent is difficult; but, the summit once attained, the charms of the prospect compensate for the labour of reaching it. In turning the conversation upon the antiquities of Egypt, the worthy patriarch said, that there was no doubt that the castle in which he resided, was built by the Persians, although I believe most European travellers are inclined to assign it no higher origin than the Romans. . . . On rising to go away, he pressed me to prolong my visit; and seeing that the approach of night rendered this impossible, he sprinkled me with rose water, and perfumed me with incense; he accompanied me down stairs, to shew me the church of St. George, which contained nothing remarkable, excepting a magical ring, which possessed the extraordinary virtue of bringing fools to their senses.”

The *Terra Santa* convent in Old Cairo, belonging to the Latins, did not at this time possess a single

ecclesiastic; and in the *Terra Santa* convent situated in the Frank quarter of New Cairo, the superior was the only one, but two Franciscans arrived shortly afterwards from Jerusalem. To this convent is attached a small library, and there is an excellent chapel, in which divine service is performed every day. At a short distance from this, the Latins have another convent, belonging to the *Della Propaganda*, which extends its jurisdiction over the convents in Upper Egypt: * it has a small library and a school. The number of Roman Catholics in Cairo, is stated by Dr. Richardson to be about 1,500. The Greeks, according to information given to Mr. Jowett, amount to 500; chiefly artisans and people in trade. † There is also an Armenian bishop of Cairo, improperly styled patriarch, who has a flock of from 100 to 150 Armenians in Cairo, and between 50 and 60 in Upper Egypt, where they exercise the office of bankers to the Government: they are generally unmarried. Of Copts, there are said to be in Cairo 15,000 families, which is, probably, below the truth. Mr. Jowett visited a Coptic school kept opposite the patriarch's gate,—“a dark room containing forty children, the schoolmaster nearly blind.” Here, as at Alexandria, the Greek gives burial ground to the Protestant, and some English lie in the convent garden.

The number of Jews in Cairo is estimated by M. Mengin at 3000: Dr. Richardson is disposed to think double that number below the truth. The streets of

* South of Cairo, there are four Roman Catholic convents, but no Greek Christians, and no Jews.—JOWETT, pp. 114; 119.

† Jowett's Researches, p. 117. Families or householders must be intended. Dr. Richardson says: “There are 150 Greek families in Cairo, who are *natives*, and the number of settlers has considerably increased of late.”

the Jews' quarter are so narrow as to be all but impassable ; the houses are crowded, dark, and filthy ; and the consequences of the plague breaking out here, may easily be conjectured.* "I walked all through the Jewish quarter," says the Author of *Scenes and Impressions*, "and was shewn their largest synagogue, (they have seven,) a building somewhat mosque-like, of stone, with handsome small pillars : they had, in the ark or recess, seven copies of the Law, written and on rollers. They also shewed me an old Bible, illuminated and written in beautiful characters ; together with other books and copies of the Talmud. They asked me to put my shoes from off my feet when I went into their synagogue : I did so. They shewed me a school of little boys at their Hebrew lessons. Their quarter is dark and dirty, and you see many meanly-clad figures ; yet, do they seem to be far more at ease here, than I had seen them in Arabia. They purchase dearly their protection."

Cairo contains, according to M. Mengin, 240 principal streets, 46 public places, 11 bazars, 140 schools for the instruction of children, 300 public cisterns, 1166 coffee-houses, 65 public baths, 400 mosques, and one miserable hospital for the infirm and insane. †

* " Yet such is their affection for this wretched abode, that an Egyptian Jewess meeting M. Mengin in Paris, said to him with an accent of regret, ' Ah ! Monsieur, où est le Kaire ! où est le quartier Juif ! '—*Quart. Rev.*, vol. xxx. p. 505.

† " We visited a hospital, founded five hundred years ago. Four large vaulted recesses, spacious and airy, are the chambers ; they surround an open court with a fountain. We walked round the cots of the patients : it appeared to me that they were but fed and sheltered. There are native physicians, but I believe the wisest of them attempt little in the way of treatment. You make a present here in bread, not money. We were shewn a smaller court with a fountain in it, and a few small cells around with iron-grated fronts,

The population is stated to have decreased, within the last five and twenty years, nearly one-fourth, but is still supposed to amount to upwards of 250,000 souls.* One class of the population must not be overlooked. "There is in Cairo," says Mr. Jowett, "a slave-market, where man sells man! It is a large building, with a square court-yard in the centre. There were few slaves in the khan when I visited it; perhaps about thirty. Some of these were young men, who asked us for a present, and who were very glad to earn a trifle by taking care of our asses, while we went over the premises. All these were from Darfur. In one miserable dungeon were several young slaves. In another similar place were two or three more, lying on the bare ground, or crouching round the embers of a small fire. In the upper part of the khan were female slaves.† In one of the

I have seen beasts of the forest in the like. They were some of them tenanted, and by human beings,—men stricken of God; a sad, a fearful sight."—*Scenes and Impressions*, p. 173.

* See p. 58. M. Mengin's estimate of 25,000 houses and 200,000 inhabitants, must be far below the truth. Some authorities carry the estimate as high as 300,000. Henry Blount, who travelled in 1634, was told, that Cairo then contained 24,000 principal streets, and of "meskeetoes" (mosques), that is, churches and chapels, 35,000. The extent was between 35 and 40 miles in circuit. If Fostat, Boulak, and Djizch were included in the estimate, Capt. Light remarks, this would not be far from the truth.

† "There was a gallery above with other rooms, and slave-girls leaning on the rail,—laughter, all laughter; their long hair in numerous falling curls white with fat; their faces, arms, and bosoms shining with grease. Exposure in the market is the moment of their joy. Their cots, their country, the breast that gave them suck, the hand that led their tottering steps, not forgotten, but resigned, given up as things gone for ever, left in another world. The toils and terrors of the wide desert, the hard and scanty fare, the swollen foot, the whip, the scalding tear, the curse,—all, all are behind. Hope meets them here, and paints some master kind,

rooms, there were about ten girls from Darfur. Immediately on seeing us, they set up a loud laugh, which they are taught to do, in order to seem happy, and induce people to buy them ; and one among them, who appeared dejected, received a blow from the brutal man who had charge of them : they soon became so noisy and rude that we left them. In another room were two Abyssinian slaves : one of them, who had been a mother, had a very dejected air ; the other behaved with great propriety. There was a manifest superiority in these above the Darfur females : their comparative value is discernible in their respective prices ; the Darfur were rated at about 1200 piastres (30*l.*) each ; the Abyssinians at 2400 ; but no doubt this demand was exorbitant.* It perfectly accords, however, with Ludolf's statement of the superior character of the Abyssinians to all other natives of Africa.....This was not the season for slaves. Sometimes the court-yard is so full, that one can hardly stir in it. Twenty years ago, it was not permitted to Europeans to go into the slave-market ; for, as the masters of the slaves make them all

some mistress gentle, some babe or child to win the heart of. As bond-women, they may bear a son, and live and die the contented inmates of some quiet harem. You see they laugh, and some even wear a wanton look ; they are quite happy. No,—look at that scowling, dark-browed Moor ; he is their owner : it is to please or to escape from him they smile. You think otherwise of that one : well, perhaps it is nature prompts her ; but the many, and those wild, shy groupes within—could we hear and understand the simple history of every smiler there, we should go home and shudder.

‘ Then what is man ? and what man, seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush,
And hang his head to think himself a man ? ’ ”

Scenes and Impressions, pp. 172, 3.

* Mr. Jowett mentions two Abyssinian girls who were sold for sixty dollars, or about 15*l.* each. See p. 175, *note*.

Mohammedans, it was deemed insufferable for a Mohammedan to be slave to a Christian; but now, though the Franks may not buy slaves openly in the market, yet, through an agent, they may, and they have them openly in their houses. Whether the slaves are at all bettered by this circumstance, is more than doubtful."*

Not far from the city, in the way to the Desert, is the burial-place of the Mamlouks, the most splendid cemetery in Egypt. "Here repose the Beys, with their followers, for many generations. The forms of the tombs are various, and often magnificent: over the sepulchres rise domes, supported by slender marble columns, and some of these are finely carved. The tombs of the Kalifs are distant a mile and a half in another direction from the city, amidst the sand: they are beautiful monuments, in the light and elegant style of the Saracenic architecture, and are in a very perfect state of preservation. They are built of fine limestone, and are lofty square buildings with domes and minarets, some of the latter of exquisite workmanship."† Sir F. Henniker says: "The cemeteries form a novel and not unpleasing appearance. The desert is studded with tombs, mosques, and mausolea. These mansions of the dead would be preferable to the habitations of the living, were it not that the air is

* Jowett's Christian Researches, pp. 122-5. While Mr. Jowett was at Cairo, Pearce, whom Mr. Salt had left in Abyssinia, arrived there by way of Massowah and Cairo. Troubles in Abyssinia had compelled him to quit the country. His journey and voyage had occupied eighty-nine days. In the vessel by which he came from Massowah, there were about 200 slaves, chiefly females. Mr. Pearce stated, that the slaves caught in Abyssinia, are eight times transferred by sale before they reach Massowah, where they are embarked for Suez.

† Carne's Letters, vol. i. p. 104.

polluted ; for nothing disturbs the solitude, except on a Friday, when the houses of mourning resound with the *ullulu* of Cairine women." " In quitting the rubbish of Cairo," says Denon, speaking of the cemetery of the Mamlouks, " the stranger is astonished to see another town, all built of white marble, where edifices raised on columns and terminated by domes, or by painted, carved, and gilt palanquins, form a cheerful and inviting picture. Trees alone are wanting to render this funereal retreat a delightful spot." These tombs, however, Sir F. Henniker says, are fast going to decay. The handsomest monument is that of the Pasha's son. The tombs of the Khalifs he does not appear to have seen. These also are in a ruinous condition, like every thing else in Egypt ; though they are still very striking objects to a European stranger. But " he who has looked upon the remains of Moorish magnificence in Hindostan, those vast and costly edifices raised by the Mogul emperors on the plains of Agra, is surprised at the comparative inferiority of these, and indeed of all the works of the khalifs." A little beyond the " Victory Gate" (*Bab-el-Nassr*), under a small tomb not easily distinguishable among the closely crowded graves, lie the remains of " poor Burckhardt,"—" just on the edge of that immense desert he was preparing to traverse."

About four miles N.E. of Cairo, towards the Syrian desert, is Matarea, a village containing about 600 inhabitants, close to which are the ruins of the city of On, the Heliopolis of the Greeks. The spot is now sanctified to superstition by one of those many childish legends which, to use the words of the Writer just cited, have diverted Christians " from the spirituality and simplicity of faith." " We rode," he says, " to Mata-

rea ; saw the well, the garden, and the sycamore where, tradition says, Joseph and the Virgin and the infant Saviour reposed, oppressed with thirst, and water welled forth miraculously to refresh them ; while the sycamore, they say, opened to receive our Savicur and his mother, their pursuers being at hand. Two centuries back, Paul Sandys found the tree hacked for relics ; so did we, and rudely carved all over with names and crosses.....A tall, lone obelisk stands in a spacious field, which each year is flooded by the Nile, and yields a harvest to the husbandman. It is just such a monument as should mark the site of a renowned and perished city,—majestic, solitary,—no columns, walls, statues ; nothing for the antiquary to display his learning upon, save the hieroglyphics which mock him.”*

Among the Arabs, the miraculous well still bears the name of *Ain Shemss*, the Fountain of the Sun, in which we appear to have preserved a trace of the original name of the city, which probably owed its existence to this fountain,—the Beth-Shemesh of the Old Testament. The obelisk, “ from the coarseness of the sculpture, as well as the history of the city to which it belonged,” may be considered as one of the oldest monuments in Egypt. “ Nearly thirty years before the Christian era, the ruins of Heliopolis were visited by Strabo ; and his description of them proves that the condition of this once famous seat of science was almost as forlorn then as at the present period. When Pococke visited the place he observed the fragments of sphinxes yet remaining in the ancient way leading to the eminence on which the Temple of the Sun stood, between the principal entrance to its

* *Scenes and Impressions*, p. 187.

area, and the southern side of the obelisk standing before it. The sphinxes which Pococke saw, were, in fact, a part of the identical antiquities that were noticed by Strabo so many centuries before ; whence it is reasonable to conclude, that very little labour would be necessary to excavate even the pavement of the temple. From the observations made by Pococke, he deduces an inference, that the utmost height to which the soil has accumulated, does not exceed seven feet and a half." At the time that Dr. Clarke visited this spot, the surrounding plain was inundated, so that the obelisk appeared as in the midst of a lake. Its present height, according to Pococke, is $67\frac{1}{2}$ feet ; Shaw makes it 64 ; its breadth, at the base, is six feet. The whole is of one entire mass of red granite. Each of its four sides exhibits a repetition of the same hieroglyphic inscription, in a style remarkably rude. Diodorus states, that Sesostris erected two obelisks at Heliopolis, which were 120 cubits high and 8 broad ; while Pliny mentions that Sochis and Ramises each erected four obelisks ; those of Sochis being 48 cubits (about 72 feet), and those of Ramises 40 cubits in height. This Ramises, he says, reigned at the time that Ilium was taken.* The columns of Ramises must have been considerably smaller than the one which now remains ; and there is, therefore, every reason to suppose that this is one of the four erected by Sochis, the remaining feet, required for the pedestal, being now beneath the surface of the soil. If so, supposing this Sochis to be the Asychis of Herodotus and the Osochon of the 21st (Tanite) dynasty of Manetho,

* See authorities in Shaw's Travels, p. 413. Dr. Richardson makes the obelisk 70 feet high, and 8 feet square at the base. It bears the mark of the water of the Nile about five feet above its base.

this obelisk must have been erected about 1020 years before the Christian era. Could it have been identified with the era of Sesostris, it would have carried us 450 years further back. "To the west of the obelisk," says Dr. Richardson, "and beyond the reach of the inundation, are the fragments of an ancient colossal statue, of the same crystallised quartzy sand-stone as the statue of Memnon at Thebes; and near it is a pedestal of large-grained granite, several masses of which lie scattered about; but no substructions of any regular ancient building are discernible. The ruins are in the form a square, about a mile and a half in circumference. The remains both of the houses and the walls, from the freshness and the quantity of burned bricks among them, appear to be of more modern date than the obelisk, and are probably Roman." Such are the only remains of a city, in whose far-famed college Herodotus was instructed in the wisdom of the Egyptians!

Perhaps, we ought not to take leave of Cairo, without mentioning some of its other sights and scenes which engage the attention of European strangers,—its baths and bazars, its jugglers and serpent-charmers, its santons and dervishes, its dancing-women and mourning-women. These, however, are not peculiar to Cairo, nor are they exclusively characteristic of Egypt.* We shall

† "Their serpent-charmers and dancing-women I did not see; but, from what I hear and readily credit, they are inferior to like exhibitions in India."—Scenes and Impressions, p. 182. "These *psylli* still form a separate class, who employ themselves in taking and taming serpents. We were told, there are now 300 of them at Cairo. Some days before the caravan of Mekka leaves Cairo, and also on the birth-day of Mohammed, these *psylli* go in procession through the streets of the city, (as well as at Rosetta,) having large serpents suspended round their necks, and reciting prayers or

therefore content ourselves with a brief reference to some of these in the note below, and close our description of the capital with an account of the Pasha's country-palace and favourite residence at Shoubra, furnished by the Author of *Scenes and Impressions in Egypt*.

"We cantered or ambled pleasantly along a fine road, between avenues of Syrian and Egyptian mulberry-trees. The country harem happened to be cleaning, repairing, and empty, so that we saw all the apartments. There is a large central one for the

hymns. They exert themselves to such a degree that they fall, or pretend to fall, into paroxysms of fanatic rage. They bite the serpents, and rend them with their teeth, uttering frightful cries and howlings, accompanied with convulsive motions, till, exhausted with fatigue and foaming at the mouth, they fall down half dead."—Minutoli's *Recollections*, pp. 67, 68. This lady describes a performance of the kind to which she was witness, but the magician was a bungler. As to the *almehs* or dancing-women, Niebuhr's ingenuous testimony will sufficiently explain how it is that Franks can become reconciled to so disgusting an exhibition: "However much disposed to receive entertainment, they did not please us at first. Their vocal and instrumental music, we thought horrible; and their persons appeared disgustingly ugly, with their yellow hands, spotted faces, absurd ornaments, and hair larded with stinking pomatum. But, by degrees, we learned to endure them; and, for want of better, began to fancy some of them pretty, to imagine their voices agreeable, their movements graceful though indecent, and their music not absolutely intolerable." The *almeh* are professional singers and mourners; they are also the instructors of the harem, and give the young women lessons in dancing, singing, and other *Egyptian* accomplishments. With regard to the particular dance alluded to, which is nearly allied to the Moorish fandango, it appears that the *almeh* require to be bribed by money and stimulated by brandy, before, dissolute as they may be, they will perform it; and even then, if Sir F. Henniker may be believed, the Levantine ladies go beyond them; while the superlative degree of the "brutally disgusting" is attained only by the male *almeh*. The Egyptian name for the privileged caste of *almeh* or *halme* (in the plural *halvalem*) is *guraniki*. Those who only sing, enjoy a better reputation than the dancers.

women ; small apartments at the angles for the more distinguished ; one, rather handsome, for the Pasha's wife. There are summer apartments below ; one with a fountain, a small bath of marble, and a large eastern kitchen for the cooks and slaves. There is also, above, a private apartment of the Pasha's, and one appropriated to youthful slaves, whom the crimes and customs of the east condemn to effeminacy and degradation. Some of these apartments have the walls decorated with Greek paintings of a bright, tawdry colouring, representing palaces, kiosks, fountains, and, alas for the poor inmates ! scenes of open country or natural landscape ; they are ill-executed, but with all the minuteness and laborious attention of eastern artists..... *. The gardens are pretty ; the larger one has less stiff formality than I had expected ; the smaller one has arbours and trellis-covered paths, which are formed of the small pebbles of Rhodes. There were orange-trees with their golden fruit, in the larger ; in the smaller, many beautiful plants and creepers, also reservoirs of water, and little ducts of stone, guiding the sparkling treasure. The gardeners had an air and countenances that pleased : they were Greeks from the gardens of Scio. Poor fellows ! the men of whom they learned to use the pruning knife, and tie up the drooper, and the girls with whom they danced, *where are they ?* Greek

* The Baroness Minutoli thus describes the palace : " It is a pretty palace in the Constantinopolitan style, and appeared to me but very slightly built. The rooms are very high, and loaded with a profusion of gilding and mirrors. The carvings in wood of the ceilings are really very fine, gilt, and painted in lively colours. The floors of the saloons were covered with magnificent carpets ; and, if the whole does not display much taste, the splendour and diversity of the ornaments of these apartments have an agreeable effect to the eye."

artists, too, with an Italian directing them, are building a sort of marble pavilion or a water-palace. It promises to be handsome; a large square reservoir, a fountain which will pour its waters from the mouths of crocodiles, (the crocodiles are vile, stiff, and ill-suited to the purpose,) verandahs all round, marble pillars, urns, lions, and the ceiling of the pavilion and walls painting in fresco, by Greeks. The whole is paving with fine squares of white marble, which are ready prepared in Sicily and Italy for laying down, and are then sent hither, as are all the other ornaments of marble.

“ The last thing we went to visit was a cameleopard, sent from Nubia by the Pasha’s son; a most extraordinary, beautiful, and gentle creature. Nature has given it the eye and the closed nostril of the camel; a neck as long, but the proportion and grace of it peculiarly its own; a something in its body, especially in the rounded, compact hind-quarter, of the horse; a cloven hoof; has adorned it with the spottings of the leopard, but gifted it with the tameness of the fawn. Not often is it caught; and it then generally becomes a state prisoner. It has been led up in Roman triumphs, and since that day, has had its very existence disputed. It stood ten feet high to the crown of the head, between six and seven to the top of its shoulder.....From an apprehension of the effects of the evil eye, they prevented us from going round the Pasha’s stud; about twenty of his horses, however, we saw, by no means fine animals.” *

The Proprietor of Shoubra and Lord of Egypt is thus described. “ We rode to the palace he occupied

* *Scenes and Impressions*, pp. 160—3. This beautiful animal has since been transported to Constantinople,—we presume as a present to the Grand Signior.

(one of Ahmed Pasha's); found a court-yard filled with a number of men, soldiers, and other attendants, with a few horses, but nothing having an air of order or show, and no persons, either from dress or manner, looking or assuming consequence. We were introduced into a large apartment: the Pasha was at one end, on the divan; Mr. Salt on his right; a shrewd-looking Italian interpreter standing up directly opposite to the Pasha, in the Frank habit, with his hat in his hand. We were received courteously; the common questions were addressed to us, and then coffee was brought. We sat there a very long time. Not one attendant of any kind was in the room, and the *khawajee* and assistants only in the moments of their service. Almost the whole time, the Pasha was carrying on an animated laughing conversation with Mr. Salt. The interpreter appeared to me fearlessly familiar and voluble, and to aim at and succeed in making the Pasha laugh. Turkish and Italian were the languages. The Pasha every now and then addressed some questions to us; two or three about the Persians, and their adoption of our discipline, but all inconsequent. I sat on the divan with my eyes fixed upon him. There he sat,—a quick eye, features common, nose bad, a grizzled beard, looking much more than fifty, the worn complexion of that period of life; and there seemed to be creeping upon him that aspect which belongs to and betrays the 'grey decrepitude of lust.'.....They tell you that he is not sanguinary. Men grow tired of shedding blood, as well as of other pleasures*; but, if the cutting off

* A sanguinary disposition, however, generally displays itself most in the last stage, the decrepitude of ambition. Mohammed Ali, as this writer justly characterises him, is "a Turk, a very Turk," and the Turk is not sanguinary. See remarks on the Turkish character, MOD. TRAV. Turkey, p. 211.

a head would drop gold into his coffers, he would not be slow to give the signal. His laugh has nothing in it of nature; how can it have? I can hear it now,—a hard, sharp laugh, such as that with which strong, heartless men would divide the booty torn from the feeble. I leave him to his admirers.”*

From the ephemeral palace, the “blackened mosque” and ruined castle, from Cairo with its motley crowds and faded grandeur, we turn to the eternal Pyramids.

THE PYRAMIDS.

WHEN the Nile is low, the direct route from Cairo to the Pyramids of Djizeh, or Ghizeh, is not above ten miles†; but, when the inundation is at its height, a very circuitous route becomes necessary, and the distance is not less than twenty miles. The journey, however, is described by a recent traveller as a most agreeable one, leading at times through woods of palm and date-trees, or over barren and sandy tracts without a vestige of population. “The Nile, in its overflow, had encompassed many villages and their groupes

* Scenes and Impressions, pp. 164—8. See also p. 164 of this Volume; Richardson’s Travels, vol. i. pp. 98—109; and Henneriker’s Notes, p. 63. The latter describes the Pasha as having “a vulgar, low-born face, but a commanding, intelligent eye.”

† Dr. Richardson says, only an hour’s ride. The Author of Scenes and Impressions, who arrived at Ghizeh from Upper Egypt, says: “From the moment that you leave Ghizeh until you reach the Pyramids, they seem continually near to you; you would think that you had but a narrow field to cross, to reach their base: you have *four miles* to ride. They certainly have an awful look; everlasting as it were, compared to any other structure which you have either seen or can imagine. But this does not arise, perhaps, so much from their apparent size, as from your knowledge of what that really is, and also from the sublime purity of design, solidity of construction, and severe simplicity of their once sacred form.”—p. 148.

of trees, and was slowly gathering round cottage and grove and lonely palm. Its fantastic course was beautiful, for its bosom was covered with many green isles of every possible form. Here, a hamlet seemed floating on the wave, above which hung the foliage and fruit of various trees, the stems being shrouded beneath ; there it warred with the desert, whose hills of sand, rocks, and ruins of temples, looked like so many mournful beacons in the watery waste. We passed several very long causeways, erected over the flat land to preserve a passage amidst the inundation ; and the sun set as we entered on the long expanse of soft sand, in the midst of which the Pyramids are built. The red light, resting for a time on their enormous sides, produced a fine effect : for a long time, we seemed at no great distance from them ; but the deception of their size on the flat expanse of the desert, long misled us, and it was dark before we arrived. As we drew near, we heard the loud voice of welcome from the Arabs, who came out of the apartments of the rock on which the Pyramids stand, and surrounded us. We ascended a narrow, winding path, to a long and low chamber in the rock, that had formerly been a tomb. Here, M. Caviglia, his assistant, M. Spinette, a German, and myself, sat down on the floor, and supped on some boiled fowl and Nile water ; and, being much fatigued, they soon left me to my repose."*

The Pyramids of Djizeh, the largest and most remarkable of this stupendous class of monuments, stand upon a bed of rock 150 feet above the desert, † which contributes to their being seen at so great a distance. The largest of the three, which, on the authority of

* Carne's Letters, vol. i. pp. 111—113.

“ 163 feet above the river.”—DAVISON in Walpole.

Herodotus, is ascribed to Cheops, is a square of 746 feet, and its perpendicular height is 461 feet, being 24 feet higher than St. Peter's at Rome, and 117 feet higher than St. Paul's at London. For want of some neighbouring object with which to compare this immense pile, no adequate idea is formed of its real dimensions, till the traveller, having arrived at its base, measures its length by his steps, and finds the first tier of stones even with his chest.* The illusion is increased by the purity of the atmosphere, owing to which the upper gradations of the pyramid are as distinctly visible as the upper layers of a pile of bricks. The whole consists of 206 tiers of different dimensions, (varying from four feet in height to one foot,) the square of each tier being smaller than the one below, so as to leave the space of two or three feet all round, forming what are called the steps. Each step is from a foot to a foot and a half in breadth, and the average height is about two feet and a quarter; so that the ascent is easy, and accompanied with a feeling of perfect security. Towards the middle, the steps are much broken, but at the angles they are perfectly entire. On the summit is an area about 30 feet square, consisting of six square blocks of stone irregularly disposed, on which the knives of visitors have been ambitiously employed in sculpturing their names.† It is

* The line of the base, Sir F. Henniker remarks, "about equals in length the longest unbroken street in London, South Molton Street." Its circumference is little short of 3000 feet.

† "The top consists of six stones." Davison in Walpole. "Nine large stones," says Dr. Clarke. The latter represents the platform to be 32 feet square. Sir F. Henniker says, 11 yards square. Between 25 and 30 feet, says Dr. Richardson. Mr. Carne says: 28 feet square. Among the inscriptions on the summit, we are told, there are some in Greek, many in French, a few in Arabic, one or two in English, and others in Latin. (Clarke, v. 174). We offer no other remark on the feeling which prompts the traveller to

supposed, that eight or nine layers of stones have been thrown down,* although there is now no trace of any cement on the surface of the highest tier. The ascent occupies about twenty minutes ; the descent, fifteen.* The quantity of stone used in this pyramid, is estimated at six millions of tons, “ which is just three times that of the vast break-water thrown across Plymouth Sound ;” and a hundred thousand men are said to have been employed for twenty years in raising this empty sepulchre !

The prospect from the summit is not extensive, being bounded on the east and west, and partly on the south, by the mountains on both sides of the river ; but it is unique and highly impressive from association. “ He who has stood on the summit of this most ancient, and yet most mighty monument of man’s power and pride,” it is remarked, “ and has looked round to the far horizon where Libya and Arabia lie silent, and has seen, at his feet, the land of Egypt dividing their dark solitudes with a narrow vale beautiful and green, the mere enamelled setting of one solitary, shining river,—must receive impressions which he can never convey, for he can never define them to himself.”† Amid all the uncertainty

leave this memorial behind him, than that it is not peculiar to the English. Viscount Chateaubriand was at Cairo, but left Egypt without visiting the pyramids ! By way of apology for this unpardonable omission in so sentimental a traveller, he requested another gentleman to inscribe his name on them the first opportunity ;—“ for I like,” he adds, “ to fulfil all the little duties of a pious traveller !”—(Vol. ii. p. 216.)

* “ Gemelli, 127 years ago, gives the number of steps 208, the height 520 feet, the area at the summit 16 feet 8 inches square.”—HENNIKER, p. 78.

† *Scenes and Impressions*, p. 149.

which hangs over the design, and date, and builders of this vast pile, "one thing," adds this interesting Writer, "you *know*; that the chief, and the philosopher, and the poet of the times of old, have certainly been here; that Alexander has spurred his war-horse to its base; and Pythagoras, with naked foot, has probably stood upon its summit."

Mr. Carne thus describes the prospect which presented itself to him from this extraordinary spot. "On one side, a fearful and melancholy desert, either level or broken into wild and fantastic hills of sand and rocks; on the other, scenes of the utmost fertility and beauty, marked the course of the Nile, winding as far as the eye can reach into Upper Egypt; beneath, amidst the overflow of waters, appeared the numerous hamlets and groves, encircled like so many beautiful islets; and far in the distance, was seen the smoke of Cairo and its lofty minarets, with the dreary Mount Mokattam rising above." To the south are seen the pyramids of Sakkara, and to the east of these, smaller monuments of the same kind; while, on an eminence near the Libyan side of the Nile, is seen a monastery of considerable size. Upon the south-east side, is the gigantic statue of the Sphinx, beyond which, amid the sandy waste, are traces of a magnificent building. Immediately beneath, upon the eastern and western sides, are vast numbers of tombs of an oblong form, with sloping sides. The second pyramid, that of Cephrenes, stands to the S.W., at a distance of about 120 yards. Near its vertex, it has remains of the stone covering in which it was formerly encased. A third pyramid, of much smaller dimensions than the second, appears beyond the Sphinx to the S.W.; and "there are three others, one of which is nearly

buried in sand, between the large pyramid and this statue to the S.E." *

The internal structure of this wonderful pile is not less amazing than its exterior appearance. The entrance is upon the sixteenth step, on the side facing the north, nearly (but not quite) in the centre. † It is reached by ascending over a heap of stones and rubbish that have fallen down from the Pyramid, or been thrown down in the attempt to find or force an entrance. A small, narrow passage, about three feet and a half square, lined above and below and on each side, with broad blocks of red granite highly polished, descends into the interior at an angle of 27°, for about ninety-two feet from the external orifice. It then turns off to the right, and winds upwards by a forced way for a considerable time, till it leads to a steep ascent of eight or nine feet. This surmounted, the traveller finds himself again in the natural passage, which is about five feet high and one hundred feet long, forming a continual ascent till he reaches a sort of landing-place, in a small recess of which is the orifice of the shaft which has obtained the name of the Well. Proceeding straight onward along a low, narrow passage, you come to a chamber seventeen feet by fourteen, and about twelve feet high, with an arched roof of flat stones meeting at an acute angle: this has been named the Queen's Chamber. Immediately above this, ascending by means of an inclined plane about one hundred and twenty feet in length, ‡

* Clarke, vol. v. pp. 179, 180.

† It is 350 feet from the N.E. corner, and 396 feet from the N.W. corner.—DAVISON.

‡ According to Dr. Richardson, two abutments, fourteen inches in breadth, rise from the floor in the form of an inclined plane, leaving between them a space, by which a person who prefers such

is "the King's Chamber," which is thirty-seven feet three inches by seventeen feet two inches, and about twenty feet high. It is lined all round with broad stones of large-grained red granite, highly polished, each stone ascending from the floor to the ceiling, which is formed of nine large flat stones of the same material, stretching from wall to wall: these are, consequently, nearly eighteen feet long; and in what manner they were conveyed to such a situation, it is difficult to conceive. In the middle of the room, towards the west end, stands a sarcophagus, also of the same red granite: it is sunk in the floor; which has been torn up in order to examine a small apartment below. The length of the sarcophagus is seven feet six inches; the depth, three feet three inches and a half; the breadth, three feet three inches: it is highly polished, but without either hieroglyphics or any other sculpture or ornament; nor are there any hieroglyphics or ornaments in any part of the chamber. There is no lid to the sarcophagus, and its only contents are some fragments of granite and dust. In the south-west corner of the chamber, sloping upwards, is a small tunnel, apparently designed to communicate with the external air; and at the bottom of the granite flags with which the walls are lined, is a small "rut" or cavity of about ten inches in width, "apparently left for their admission, and neglected to be filled up." As this chamber does not reach beyond the centre of the Pyramid, Dr. Richardson remarks, there are probably passages leading off to other chambers, which may be concealed by some of the large stones. The sarcophagus is exactly the size of the orifice which forms the entrance to the Pyramid, a staircase, may climb up between them, small holes being cut on each side for the reception of the feet.

and could not have been conveyed to the place it now occupies by any of the known passages in their present state; it must, therefore, either have been deposited there during the building of the Pyramid, or before the passage was finished and narrowed by its present polished and beautiful casing.

Immediately over "the King's Chamber" is what has received, in honour of its discoverer, the name of Davison's Chamber; a room of the same breadth, but four feet longer. "In the lower room, you see only seven (entire) stones, and a half of one on each side of them; but, in that above, the nine are entire, the two halves resting on the wall at each end. The covering of this room, as of the other, is of beautiful granite, but it is composed of eight stones, instead of nine."* This room had escaped the notice of every previous traveller of modern days. M. Maillet, though he had been forty times within the Pyramid, had no knowledge of it; and Niebuhr, though aware of Mr. Davison's discovery, could not find it. To the same enterprising discoverer, we are indebted for the first examination of the Well, which is referred to by Pliny as being eighty-six cubits in depth. By means of a rope tied round his body, he descended the first shaft, twenty-two feet in depth; for, though he found a sort of steps or holes cut in the rock, yet, the lower part of them was so worn away as to render it unsafe to trust to such precarious footing. Here, on the south side, at the distance of about eight feet from the first shaft, a second was found to descend perpendicularly to the depth of about five feet only; and at four feet ten inches from the bottom of this, a third

* Davison in Walpole, p. 356. Mr. Davison was British Consul at Algiers, and accompanied Mr. Wortley Montague to Egypt in 1763. He resided eighteen months in Cairo.

shaft was discovered, the mouth of which was nearly choked up with a large stone, leaving barely room sufficient for a man to pass. With great difficulty, one of the Arabs was prevailed upon to come down to this spot, and hold the rope, while Mr. Davison again set forth on his downward journey. Having proceeded some way, he came to a grotto about fifteen feet by four or five, and about the height of a man. From this place, the third shaft is sloping. Calling to the Arab to loosen the rope gently, he gradually proceeded by the help of little holes made in the rock, pushing his lantern before him; till, at length, the shaft, inclining a little more to the perpendicular, brought him speedily to the bottom, where he ascertained the passage to be completely closed by sand and rubbish. Here he found a rope-ladder which had been used by his precursor in this enterprise, Mr. Wood,* sixteen years before, which was still as fresh and strong as ever. That gentleman, however, had stopped short at the grotto. The total depth of the three shafts was found to be one hundred and fifty-five feet, about thirty feet more than the measurement given by Pliny.

In January, 1817, Mr. Caviglia, (a gentleman whose name has since become familiar to every person interested in the study of Egyptian antiquities,) unacquainted, as it should seem, with the previous exploits of Mr. Wood and Mr. Davison, resolved on the same investigation. He describes the several shafts in nearly the same terms as the latter gentleman, with this additional circumstance; that the shaft was found to be lined with masonry, both above and below the grotto, "to support, as was supposed, one of those insulated beds of gravel which are frequently found in

* The author of a Description of Balbek and Palmyra.

rock, and which the masons call flaws." Mr. Caviglia was, however, by no means satisfied with the result of his supposed discovery of the bottom of the Well. The ground was perceived to give a hollow sound beneath his feet, and he was persuaded that there must be some concealed outlet. He therefore determined to set about excavating the bottom of the Well. The offer of enormous wages, backed by an order from the *Kiaya-bey*, procured the reluctant assistance of the Arabs in drawing up the rubbish ; but, after he had succeeded so far in subduing their indolence and their prejudices, the suffocating heat and impurity of the air in so confined a place, where, after the first hour, a light would not burn, rendered it impracticable to proceed in the excavation. The further progress of his researches, we give in the words of a narrative drawn up from information communicated to the writer by Mr. Salt, the British consul-general.*

" Thus discouraged, Mr. Caviglia next turned his attention to the clearing of the principal entrance or passage of the pyramid, which, from time immemorial, had been so blocked up as to oblige those who entered to creep on their hands and knees ; hoping by this to give a freer passage to the air. He not only succeeded in carrying his purpose into effect, but, in the course of his labours, made the unexpected discovery, that the main passage, leading from the entrance, does not terminate in the manner asserted by Maillet. Having removed several large masses of calcareous stone and granite, apparently placed there to obstruct the passage, he found that it still continues in the same inclined angle downwards, is of the same dimensions, and has its sides worked with the same care, as in the

* Quart. Rev. vol. xix. p. 397 et seq.

channel above, though filled up nearly to the top with earth and fragments of stone. Having proceeded to the length of 150 feet in clearing out this passage, the air began to be so impure, and the heat so suffocating, that he had the same difficulties again to encounter with regard to the working Arabs. Even his own health was at this time visibly impaired, and he was attacked with a spitting of blood ; nothing, however, could induce him to desist from his researches.

“ By the 14th March, he had excavated as low down as 200 feet in the new passage without any thing particular occurring ; when, shortly afterwards, a doorway on the right side was discovered, from which, in the course of a few hours, a strong smell of sulphur was perceived to issue. Mr. Caviglia now recollects, that when at the bottom of the well, in his first enterprise, he had burned some sulphur for the purpose of purifying the air, and he conceived it probable that this doorway might communicate with it ; an idea which, in a little time, he had the gratification of seeing realised, by discovering that the channel through the doorway, opened at once upon the bottom of the well, where he found the baskets, cords, and other implements which had been left there on his recent attempt at a further excavation. This discovery was so far valuable as it afforded a complete circulation of air along the new passage, and up the shaft of the well into the chamber, so as to obviate all danger, for the future, from the impurity of the atmosphere. Mr. Salt, after this, made the tour of the long passage, and up the shafts into the great gallery, without much inconvenience.

“ The new passage did not terminate at the doorway which opened upon the bottom of the Well.

Continuing to the distance of twenty-three feet beyond it, in the same angle of inclination, it became narrower, and took a horizontal direction for about twenty-eight feet further, where it opened into a spacious chamber, immediately under the central point of the pyramid. This new chamber is sixty-six feet long by twenty-seven feet broad, with a flat roof, and, when first discovered, was nearly filled with loose stones and rubbish, which, with considerable labour, Mr. Caviglia removed. The platform of the floor, dug out of the rock, is irregular, nearly one half of the length from the eastern or entrance end being level, and about fifteen feet from the ceiling; while in the middle it descends five feet lower, in which part there is a hollow space, bearing all the appearance of the commencement of a well or shaft. From hence it rises to the western end, so that at this extremity there is scarcely room between the floor and the ceiling to stand upright, the whole chamber having the appearance of an unfinished excavation; though Mr. Salt thinks, after a careful comparison of it with other subterranean chambers which have been disfigured by the combined effects of time and the rude hands of curious inquirers, that it may once have been highly wrought, and used, perhaps, for the performance of solemn and secret mysteries. Some Roman characters, rudely formed, had been marked with the flame of a candle on the rock, part of which having mouldered away, rendered the words illegible. Mr. Salt says, he had flattered himself that this chamber would turn out to be that described by Herodotus as containing the tomb of Cheops, which was insulated by a canal from the Nile; but the want of an inlet, and its elevation of thirty feet above the level of the Nile at its highest point, put an end to

this delusive idea. He thinks, however, from an expression of Strabo, purporting that the passage from the entrance leads directly down to the chamber which contained the *θυμα* (the receptacle of the dead,) that this new chamber was the only one known to that author. Whatever might have been the intention of this deeply excavated chamber, no vestige of a sarcophagus could now be traced.

“ On the south side of this irregularly formed or unfinished chamber, is an excavated passage, just wide and high enough for a man to creep along on his hands and knees, continuing horizontally in the rock for fifty-five feet, where it abruptly terminates. Another passage at the east end of the chamber, commences with a kind of arch, and runs about forty feet into the solid body of the pyramid. Mr. Salt alludes to some other passage noticed by Olivier, in which the names of ‘ Paisley’ and ‘ Munro’ were now found inscribed at its extremity.”

These laborious exertions do not appear to have been rewarded with any new discovery of antiquities. Mr. Caviglia has, however, to a certain degree, determined one long-disputed point, namely, how far the living rock had been made available in the construction of the pyramids. “ This rock, which shews itself externally at the north-eastern angle of the Great Pyramid, appears in the main passage, and again close to the mouth of the well; the highest projection into the body of the pyramid being about eighty feet from the level of its external base.”

Much more, however, there can be no doubt, remains to be discovered within these “ gloomy mansions of mystery and wonder.” “ We have now,” it is remarked, “ the knowledge of three distinct chambers in that of Cheops, all of which had evidently been opened by the Saracens, and, perhaps, long before by

the Romans ; but, for any thing that is known to the contrary, there may be three hundred, and might be ten times three hundred such chambers yet undiscovered." * All the rooms at present discovered, are on the west of the general passage ; that is, in the north-west quarter of the pyramid ; with the exception of the one discovered by Mr. Caviglia in the centre of its base ; and till examination shall have ascertained the contrary, it may be presumed that the other three quarters have also their chambers. The insulated tomb of Cheops, the founder, if the statement furnished by Mr. Salt be correct, must be an excavation far deeper than has yet been discovered ; and the channel by which the waters of the Nile could be brought into any part of the pyramid, remains altogether concealed. Yet, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that no such communication ever existed. The excavated passage, which leads off from the great chamber, and abruptly terminates at the end of fifty-five feet, can never have ended, originally, in a *cul de sac*, but must have had some design, and some outlet.

" The next operations of Mr. Caviglia," the Narrator proceeds, " were directed to a minute exami-

* " To assist the mind to form a just idea of the immensity of the mass, let us take the great chamber of the sarcophagus, whose dimensions (it being about $35\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, $17\frac{1}{4}$ broad, and $18\frac{1}{4}$ high,) are those of a tolerably large-sized drawing-room ; which, as the solid contents of the pyramid are found to exceed 85,000,000 cubic feet, forms nearly $\frac{1}{7452}$ part of the whole ; so that, after leaving the contents of every second chamber solid, by way of separation, there might be three thousand seven hundred chambers, each equal in size to the sarcophagus chamber within the pyramid of Cheops." —*Quart. Rev.*, vol. xix. p. 401. Lincoln's Inn Fields, (the area of which corresponds to the base of the pyramid,) wholly filled up with an edifice higher by a third than St. Paul's, may give some idea of its vast dimensions.

nation of those numerous ruined edifices and tumuli which, when viewed from the top of the great pyramid, appear in countless multitudes, scattered without order among the other pyramids, as the graves in a churchyard round the church, and extend on the north and on the south, along the left bank of the Nile, as far as the eye can reach. These remains of antiquity have been noticed by Pococke and other travellers, but, we believe, never examined with that attention which they are now found to deserve. The successful efforts of Mr. Caviglia in laying open the interior apartments of several of these, will give them a new interest in the eyes of future travellers. The stone buildings, which Mr. Salt supposes to be mausoleums, are generally of an oblong form, having their walls slightly inclined from the perpendicular inwards, the peculiar characteristic of ancient Egyptian architecture; flat-roofed, with a sort of parapet round the outside, formed of stones, rounded at the top, and rising about a foot above the level of the terrace. The walls are constructed of large masses of stones, of irregular shape, seldom rectangular, though neatly fitted to each other somewhat in the manner of the Cyclopean buildings in various parts of Greece. Some have door-ways ornamented above with a volute, which is covered with hieroglyphics, while others have only square apertures in the sides, gradually narrowing inwards for the purpose of admitting light into the chambers. These doors and windows are found invariably on the northern and eastern sides; perhaps because these two sides are the least liable to be incommoded by the sand from the Libyan desert.

“ The first of these edifices, examined by Mr. Caviglia, when freed of the sand and rubbish with

which it was choked, was found to have the inside walls covered with stucco and embellished with rude paintings, one of which, though much defaced, evidently represented the sacred boat, and another a procession of figures, each carrying a lotus in his hand. At the southern extremity were several mouldering mummies, laid one over the other in a recumbent posture, with a few fragments of wooden cases. Many of the bones remained entire, and among the rest was a skull, with part of its cloth covering inscribed with hieroglyphics.

" The second edifice he examined had no paintings, but contained several fragments of statues, both of calcareous stone and granite. In one of the chambers were found two pieces, composing the entire body of a figure almost as large as life, in the act of walking, with the left leg stretched forwards, and the two arms hanging down and resting on the thighs. From the position of this statue, and from that of a pedestal, and the foot of another statue in a different chamber, both facing the openings into the respective chambers, Mr. Salt is of opinion, that they were so placed for the express purpose of being seen by the friends of the deceased from an adjoining corridor ; the statues themselves bearing, as he thinks, evident marks of being intended as portraits of the persons whom they were meant to represent. The several parts were marked with a strict attention to nature, and coloured after life, having artificial eyes of glass, or transparent stones, to give them the air of living men. A head was discovered, but it did not exactly fit the statue in question, though it probably belonged to the foot and pedestal. ' This head,' says Mr. Salt, ' even in its present state, I consider as extremely valuable from its similarity in style and features to that of the

Sphinx, having the same facial line, the same sweetness of expression and marking in the mouth, and the same roundness and peculiarity which characterise the rest of the features; circumstances which tend to prove its almost equal antiquity.' In removing the fragments, eight hours were employed in enlarging the opening of the chamber, to enable the workmen to force them through; so that the statue must have been placed in its cell prior to the finishing of the edifice. Many of the granite and alabaster fragments found in these chambers, give a higher idea of Egyptian sculpture than has usually prevailed; a close attention, it seems, being shown to the marking of the joints and muscles. In the fragment of a leg, Mr. Salt observed 'a fulness of the parts, and strictness of proportion, not unlike the school of Michael Angelo;' 'while,' he adds, 'the alabaster fragments evince that the Egyptians, in finishing, were not behind even the sculptors of Greece.' Nor is Mr. Salt singular in bearing this honourable testimony to the skill of the ancient artists of Egypt. Mr. Hamilton, after giving an animated description of the sculptures which cover the eastern wing of the propylon of the temple of Luxor, observes, 'It was impossible to view and to reflect upon a picture so copious and so detailed as this I have just described, without fancying that I here saw the original of many of Homer's battles, the portrait of some of the historical narratives of Herodotus, and one of the principal groundworks of the description of Diodorus; and to complete the gratification, we felt that had the artist been better acquainted with the rules and use of perspective, the performance might have done credit to the genius of a Michael Angelo or a Julio Romano.'

"In another of these stone edifices was sculptured

a boat of a large size, with a square sail, different from any now employed on the Nile. In the first chamber of this building were paintings, in bas-relief, of men, deer, and birds; men engaged in planning and preparing certain pieces of furniture, hewing blocks of wood, and pressing out skins either of wine or oil. The top of the second chamber is hollowed out in the form of an arch. 'In this apartment,' says Mr. Salt, 'the figures and hieroglyphics are singularly interesting and beautiful. On the right, is represented a quarrel between some boatmen, executed with great spirit; and a little further on, a number of men engaged in the different pursuits of agriculture,—ploughing, hoeing up the ground, bringing in their corn on asses, stowing it in the magazines, and in other similar occupations. On the west, are several vases painted in the most vivid colours; and on the south side, a band of musicians, playing on the harp, flute, and a species of clarionet, together with a groupe of dancing women, tinged of a yellow colour, as is the case in most of the temples of Upper Egypt.' In the same building are two other chambers, one unembellished, the other having carved on its walls a variety of figures and hieroglyphics. In a fifth chamber were several hieroglyphics on a thick coat of white plaster, executed, as it would appear, with a wooden stamp or mould.

"Many others of these oblong buildings were cleared out, and found to consist of different numbers of apartments, variously disposed, but similarly decorated with bas-reliefs and paintings, according, perhaps, to the wealth or caprice of those who erected them: one in particular, from the delicacy of its colours, its general pleasing effect, and superior style of execution, was deemed deserving of the closest attention. Mr.

Salt observes, that in all the mausoleums which they opened, were found fragments of bitumen, great quantities of mummy-cloth and of human bones, which seemed to remove all doubt of their having served the purpose of entombing the dead. A very important circumstance yet remains to be noticed. In one apartment or another of all these monumental edifices was a deep shaft or well, from the bottom of which, a narrow passage conducted to a subterranean chamber. One of these shafts, cleared out by Mr. Caviglia, was sixty feet deep; and in the chamber a little to the south of the lower extremity, was standing, without a lid, a plain but highly finished sarcophagus, of the same dimensions nearly as that in the chamber of the pyramid of Cheops, but of a superior polish. This discovery supplies a strong argument in favour of the pyramids being tombs. In summing up the result of the researches made in these mansions of the dead, (if such they really be,) Mr. Salt observes, ' I shall here venture to offer a few cursory remarks on the very peculiar specimens of sculpture-painting above described, which may fairly be considered as presenting the most ancient examples of art now extant in the world.

" " The objects in which the artists have best succeeded, are the animals and birds, several instances of which may be pointed out, that are executed with a boldness of outline, and an attention to nature in the form, which evince a considerable progress in design. The human figures, it is true, are in general drawn sadly out of proportion, though the action in which they are engaged, is almost always intelligibly, and, sometimes, energetically expressed.

" " The colours in many of the chambers retain all their original freshness, and present (from their

being generalized, perhaps, by the reflexions of the surrounding sand, pale-coloured stones, and clear-blue sky,) a softened and harmonious effect, notwithstanding their vivid colours, that is very grateful to the eye. In one chamber in particular, I have remained for hours contemplating, with peculiar delight, the effects of these singular and early efforts in art ; the combination of bas-relief and of colouring after life serving to embody the forms, and to present a species of reality that mere painting can with difficulty produce.

“ ‘ A considerable portion of the pleasure derived from these paintings, must undoubtedly be attributed to the association of ideas arising from local circumstances connected with them ; but let a man divest himself, if possible, of these feelings, and he must still allow, that their simplicity, the highly-finished manner in which they are executed, the unbroken tints which are employed, the variety of subjects which are delineated, and the occasional elegance of form, together with the infinite variety of hieroglyphics used to balance and fill up the several designs, display a rich assemblage of ornament that renders this style of art particularly adapted for the embellishment of apartments.’

“ An examination of the catacombs in the neighbourhood, tended to confirm these general remarks on Egyptian art, as far as refers to the correct delineation of animals ; the composition of the gazelle, in particular, being stated to be in every respect beautiful, both in the natural simplicity of the action, the correctness of the form, and the admirable feeling which pervades the design. This subject, Mr. Salt observes, became afterwards a favourite one among the Romans in adorning their walls, as is evinced by the several examples of it at Herculaneum and Pom-

peff, which contributes to prove that, even in painting, the Romans did not disdain to copy from the Egyptians."

Mr. Salt is disposed to assign to these buildings an antiquity higher than the pyramids themselves; and he thinks that this vast cemetery may have been connected with the city of Heliopolis, before the seat of empire had been transferred to Memphis. This is very improbable; and it is suggested as more likely, that many of these edifices have been constructed from the dilapidated casing of the pyramids, as they consist of the same kinds of stone. Indeed, a circumstance mentioned by Mr. Salt seems decisive of their posterior date. One of the stones, he says, bearing a hieroglyphic inscription, is built into the walls upside down; proving beyond a doubt, that it had constituted part of some other edifice previously to occupying its present position. "It is probable, that the *tumuli* are nothing more than similar buildings of higher antiquity, mouldered away to their present shape; or that they were constructed originally of more perishable materials, like the brick pyramid of Dashour, which has every appearance of gradually changing its form into that of the rude *tumulus*."

But by far the most brilliant of Mr. Caviglia's discoveries are those to which he was led in the laborious process of uncovering the great Sphinx in front of the Pyramid of Cephrenes. His first attempt was not satisfactory, owing to the great difficulty of the undertaking. He commenced his operations by digging a very deep trench on the left or northern side, near the shoulder, about twenty feet wide at top, and three only at the base; but, in spite of all their planking, the wind drove back, at night, more than half of the sand which they had cleared away in the day. By this

trench, however, he ascertained that the external surface of the body below is composed of irregular-shaped stones, built up with much care, and covered with red paint; and that the joints mentioned by some authors, are nothing more than veins in the stones. His second attempt was made in front. Commencing in the early part of March, he continued his operations till the end of June, and, with the assistance of from sixty to a hundred persons a day, he succeeded in laying open the whole figure to its base, and in exposing a clear area extending a hundred feet from its front.* The discoveries to which these operations led, are thus stated.

"On the stone platform in front, and centrally between the outstretched paws of the Sphinx, was found a large block of granite, fourteen feet high, seven broad, and two thick. The face of this stone, which fronted the east, was highly embellished with sculpture in bas-relief, the subject representing two sphinxes seated on pedestals, and priests holding out offerings, beneath which was a long inscription in hieroglyphics, most beautifully executed; and the whole design was covered at top, and protected, as it were, with the sacred globe, the serpent, and the wings. Two other tablets of calcareous stone, similarly ornamented, were supposed, with that of granite,

* Of the immense difficulties which Capt. Caviglia had to encounter, some idea may be formed from the statement, that the slightest breeze or concussion was sufficient to set in motion the loose particles of sand, and to occasion the sloping sides of the mass to crumble down, forming a cascade of sand. On the southern side of the paw, the whole body of Arabs were employed for seven days without making any sensible advance, the sand rolling down in one continual torrent. When Dr. Richardson visited the Pyramids in October of the same year, "the Arabs and the wind had replaced the greater part of the covering, and the lower extremities of the Sphinx were as invisible as before."

to have constituted part of a temple, by being placed one on each side of the latter, and at right angles to it. One of them, in fact, was still remaining in its place: of the other, which was thrown down and broken, the fragments are now in the British Museum. A small lion *couchant* in front of this edifice, had its eyes directed towards the sphinx. There were besides, several fragments of other lions rudely carved, and the fore part of a sphinx, of tolerable workmanship; all of which, as well as the tablets, walls, and platform on which the little temple stood, were ornamented with red paint, a colour which would seem to have been here, as in India, appropriated to sacred purposes. In front of the temple was a granite altar, with one of the four "horns" still retaining its place at the angle. From the effects of fire evident on the stone, this altar, it would seem, had been used for burnt-offerings. On the side of the paw of the great Sphinx, were cut several indistinct inscriptions in Greek characters, addressed to different deities, one of which appeared to be a mere play upon words; another, commencing with the usual phrase, *τῷ προσκυνημα* (adoration), ended with the name of Aurora; and a third contained the word *παχων*, one of the Egyptian months. On the second digit of the paw was sculptured, in pretty deep characters, an inscription in verse, of which the following elegant translation has been furnished by Dr. Young, to whom the learned world are indebted for supplying the illegible words in the original.

' Thy form stupendous here the gods have placed,
Sparing each spot of harvest-bearing land;
And with this mighty work of art have graced
A rocky isle, encumber'd once with sand;
And near the pyramids have bid thee stand:
Not that fierce Sphinx that Thebes erewhile laid waste,
But great Latona's servant mild and bland:

Watching that prince beloved who fills the throne
 Of Egypt's plains, and calls the Nile his own.
 That heavenly monarch [who his foes defies],
 Like Vulcan powerful [and like Pallas wise].

• • • • • • • • • • • •

ARRIAN.*

The signature gives it a more than common interest, which will not be weakened, if it should be decided, that it is to be ascribed to the celebrated historian whom Gibbon has dignified with the epithet of the 'elegant and philosophical Arrian.'

"On the digits of the southern paw were only discovered a few of the usual dedicatory phrases in homage of Harpocrates, Mars, and Hermes. One inscription gives, as Mr. Salt reads it, to the Emperor Claudius, the extraordinary appellation of '*αγαθος δασκαλος*'; an instance of flattery which can only be outdone by that of another inscription, lately discovered in Upper Egypt, where Caracalla is styled 'piissimus,' on the very same stone from which the name of his murdered brother Geta had, probably, been erased by his own orders. On another small edifice in front of the Sphinx, was an inscription with the name of Septimius Severus, in which the name of Geta was erased, as in the former, and as it also is in the triumphal arch erected by the same emperor at Rome. The former inscription, however, is not to Claudius, but to his successor NEPΩN, as may be distinctly traced in the first line through the imperfect erasure."*

* This stone is now in the British Museum. The inscription, with a translation, is given in the paper from which this account is taken, Quart. Rev. vol. xix. p. 414. It purports to have been erected, by the inhabitants of Busiris in the Letopolitan district, near the Pyramids, to the Emperor Nero. Another inscription, found near the same spot, is dated in the reign of Antoninus Pius and his son Verus.

The edifices on which the inscription appeared, were placed on two elevated platforms, on the outside of the altar, and directly in front of the animal ; as if “intended as stations for the Roman emperors or prefects, to view the solemn rites performed in the temple and at the altar in front of the Sphinx.”

This singular monument has been, like every thing else in Egypt, the subject of very opposite representations. Dr. Richardson says : “ The features are Nubian ; the expression is particularly placid and benign.” Denon speaks of it in similar language. The expression of the head, he says, “ is mild, benign, and tranquil, the character African ; but the mouth, the lips of which are thick, has a sweetness of expression and a fineness of execution truly admirable : it is flesh and life.” The Author of “ Scenes and Impressions ” confesses that he was disappointed by it. “ It has neither the size, nor the majesty, nor the sweetness with which it is usually represented.” Mr. Salt states, that, like many other travellers, he felt, at first, that the praises lavished by Norden, Denon, and others, were greatly exaggerated ; but, he adds, “ the more I studied it at different hours of the day, and under different effects of light and shade, the more I became satisfied that they had barely done justice to its real merits.” This gentleman had the advantage of contemplating at his leisure this imposing monument, when laid open in front to its very base, with the fragments of its supposed beard resting beneath its chin ; its huge paws stretched out fifty feet in advance from the recumbent body ; with all the appendages of a temple, granite tablet, and altar spread out on the platform before it ; and he admits, that these interesting objects, which had for ages been buried deep in the sand, undoubtedly tended to exalt

the main figure in his estimation. For want of these objects by which to judge of the scale of its dimensions, travellers would be very liable to underrate at least the magnitude of the figure; nor should it be forgotten, that it was intended to be looked up to from its base.

The Arabs call the Sphinx *Abou-el-hol*, the father of terror, or *Abou-el-haoun*, the father of the column; in allusion, possibly, to the stone tablet between its paws.* Herodotus makes no mention of this enigmatical figure; yet, from the great disintegration that it has suffered, Dr. Richardson supposes, that it can hardly be less ancient than his time. Pliny, the first author who mentions it, merely states its position to be in front of the pyramids, adding, that the natives called it the tomb of King Amasis, and said that it was brought there; which, he remarks, could not be true, as it is cut out of the rock; but he offers no opinion as to its design or origin. The sphinx, in the Greek mythology, is generally represented with the countenance of a beautiful female and the body of a lion. The head of this sphinx, however, is now supposed to be that of a man; the *beard* found between its paws being considered as decisive on this subject. "The expression of almost all the Egyptian figures," remarks Dr. Richardson, "is so particularly mild and interesting, that, without the accession of the beard, they might all pass for females. This figure was entire in the time of Abdallatif, who describes its graceful appearance, and the admirable proportion in the different features of its countenance, of which he particularly mentions the nose, the eyes, and the ears; adding, that they excited his astonishment above

* Dr. Richardson states, that "both on the temples and on the tombs, the Sphinx is frequently represented with a pyramid or an obelisk between its paws."

every thing that he had seen in Egypt." But is it certain, that what is styled the beard, is really intended for such an appendage? We must confess that there appears to us strong reason to question the accuracy of the statement; and the inscription seems at direct variance with such a supposition. The Theban monster was certainly not an "androsphinx;" nor can we bring ourselves to believe, that Latona's chaste attendant (*προσωπολον αγνοτατην*) was of a different sex. There can be no doubt, we think, that the figure is allegorical; and it seems clear from the inscription, that it was connected with the worship of the sun.* If so, it might be supposed to be an astronomical symbol,—the sun passing out of *Leo* into *Virgo*, during which time the Nile continues to rise.

The second pyramid, that of Cephrenes, stands upon a rather higher elevation than that of Cheops: it is built of the same species of stone,† and joined by the same kind of cement. The coating, which is also of limestone, remains upon the top for about a fourth of the way down: the rest is quite uncovered, and the

* In the dedicatory inscription to the Emperor Nero, that monarch is stated to have been present at the "lawful rites" celebrated here, and to have worshipped *the sun*, "the overseer and saviour of the world."

† According to Dr. Clarke, "a soft limestone, a little harder and more compact than what some of our English masons call *clunch*, wherof King's College, Cambridge, and a great part of Ely Cathedral is built." It is of a greyish white, and, when broken by a smart blow, exhales a fetid odour, like the dark limestone of the Dead Sea, owing to the disengagement of sulphuretted hydrogen. Dr. Richardson describes it as a compact limestone containing many shells and small hard substances like *acini*, of a more compact texture than the stone itself. These small concretions are particularly numerous in the rock round the base of the pyramid. It is no longer doubtful; that the stones of which the pyramids are built, were supplied by the rock on which they rest. Within half a mile to the E. and S. are extensive quarries.

steps are splintered and broken, more especially on the north side, as in the other pyramid. It may be ascended, however, on the southern side without much difficulty up to a certain height, from which a smooth, inclined plane leads to the apex. An Arab would scramble up this for sixpence, or a British farthing for nothing ; but the traveller will prefer accomplishing it by proxy, as M. Chateaubriand visited the pyramids. Niebuhr, however, climbed to the summit. The base of this pyramid is 684 feet ; its height 456 feet. For our knowledge of the interior, we are indebted to the enterprising labours of Belzoni. Herodotus was informed, that this pyramid had no chambers within it ; and modern travellers had taken for granted, that this venerable *on dit* was correct ; but experience proved a surer guide to the discoveries of the sagacious Italian, than tradition and classic lore. His practised eye detected certain indications which led him to believe an entrance might be found. On the eastern side, there is part of a portico of the temple which stood before the pyramid, and which has a causey descending straight towards the Sphinx. Here he set forty Arabs to work, to open the ground between the portico and the pyramid ; and they soon came to the lower part of a large temple, reaching within fifty feet of its base. Its exterior walls are formed of enormous blocks, some of those in the porticoes being twenty-four feet in length. The interior is built of calcareous stones of various sizes, many of them finely cut at the angles. In order to find the basis of the pyramid on this side, and to ascertain whether any communication existed between it and the temple, he had to cut through an accumulation of materials, consisting of large blocks of stone and mortar from the coating, which rose forty feet from the

base. At last, he came to a flat pavement cut out of the solid rock, which appears to run all round the pyramid ; and he gives it as his opinion, that the sphinx, the temple, and the pyramid, were all three constructed at the same period. No other discovery was made on this side ; and on the north side, the Arabs were not at first more successful. After sixteen days of fruitless labour, one of them perceived a chink between two stones, which led to the detection of a false entrance, evidently forced ; but the upper part had fallen in, and it was found impossible to penetrate beyond a hundred feet. "However," says Mr. Belzoni, in his ingenuous narrative, "I did not despair. I strictly noticed the situation of the entrance into the first pyramid, and plainly saw that it was not in the centre of the pyramid. I observed that the passage ran in a straight line from the outside of the pyramid to the east side of the king's chamber ; and this chamber being nearly in the centre of the pyramid, the entrance must consequently be as far from the middle of the face, as the distance from the centre of the chamber to the east side of it." This simple observation proved the right clue. On returning to the second pyramid, he was not more astonished than delighted to perceive the same marks which he had noticed on the other spot in the centre, and which had led him to make his first unsuccessful attempt, about 30 feet distant from where he stood. The discovery of the first granite stone was made on the 28th of February (1816) ; on the 1st of March, he uncovered three large blocks of granite ; and on the following day, came to the right entrance ; a passage 4 feet high, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and descending towards the centre, for 104 feet 5 inches, at an angle of 26° . This passage, like that in the pyramid of

Cheops, was found to be lined with large blocks of granite; it was filled up with stones which had fallen down and slid into it; and when these were cleared out, they came to a fixed block of stone, which appeared to present a *ne plus ultra* to their operations. On a close inspection, however, Mr. Belzoni perceived that, at the bottom, this immense block was raised about eight inches from the groove cut to receive it, and that it formed, in fact, "a portcullis of granite, one foot three inches thick." To raise it, was a work of immense difficulty, but it obeyed Mr. Belzoni's talisman, perseverance; and he then found himself in a passage similar in dimensions to the first, about 22 feet and a half in length. At the end of this is a perpendicular shaft of 15 feet, which he descended by means of a rope, and then entered another passage, running downward at an angle of 26° towards the north; he then ascended an inclined passage, which brought him to a horizontal one leading to the centre. After passing the portcullis, all the passages are cut out of the live rock. On advancing, the sides of the horizontal passage were found covered with "arborizations" of nitre, some projecting in ropes, others resembling an endive-leaf, and the fleece of a lamb. At length, he came to a door leading into the central chamber. He entered, and found, towards the western end, buried on a level with the floor, a sarcophagus, 8 feet long, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 2 feet 3 inches deep. It is surrounded with large blocks of granite, apparently intended to prevent its removal. It is itself of the finest granite, but, like that of Cheops, has not a hieroglyphic upon it. The lid was half removed, and disclosed, amid a great quantity of earth and stones, some bones which, on being sent to London, were declared to be those of a bull—of the god Apis

himself!* The chamber was found to be 46 feet 3 inches by 16 feet 3 inches, and 23 feet and a half high. It is cut out of the solid rock from the floor to the roof, which is composed of large blocks of limestone, forming a sort of pointed roof of the same slope as the pyramid itself. On the walls were observed many scrawls executed with charcoal in unknown characters, which, for the most part, at the slightest touch, rubbed off into dust; but the following inscription, in Arabic, was transcribed by a Copt who accompanied the Author: "The Master Mohammed Ahmed, lapicide, has opened them, and the Master Othman attended this (opening); and the King Alij Mohammed at first to the closing up."† Thus, though Herodotus knew nothing of this chamber, the Saracens had been here. On several parts of the well were beautiful incrustations similar to those in the passages.

Other passages were subsequently explored, one of which, running with a descent of 26° towards the west, led to a similar chamber, 32 feet by 9 feet 9 inches, and 8 feet and a half long; containing some small blocks of stone, and several unknown inscriptions. At the end of a horizontal passage were found the grooves of another portcullis, the granite block of which had been removed, and was lying amid some

* Dr. Richardson remarks, that the shape of the sarcophagus is "a mighty odd configuration, if made to contain the embalmed carcase of a bull." He states its dimensions to be 8 feet 7 inches long, 2 feet and a half broad, and 2 feet 5 inches deep; the breadth of the edge 7 inches and a half.—*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 157.

† In the Quarterly Review (vol. xix. p. 201), a different translation is given, in which the word rendered *lapicide*, is made a proper name. "This pyramid was opened by the Masters Mahomet El Aghar and Otman, and was inspected in presence of the Sultan Ali Mahomet the first, *Ugloch*." The latter word is asserted to be a Tatarie title: how it came to be assumed by an Egyptian sultan, we do not learn.

rubbish near the spot. Passing this portcullis, the passage ascended towards the exterior base of the pyramid, forming, apparently, a *second* outlet.*

Mr. Belzoni felt a strong inclination to penetrate the third pyramid, that of Mycerinus; but the want of time and money compelled him to abandon this enterprise, after clearing away a great quantity of materials. Beneath the rubbish, he found a considerable accumulation of enormous granite blocks, which had evidently formed the coating; and part of this coating still remained in its place down to the base. † That of Cephrenes was coated only with limestone, which takes a beautiful polish like marble. Mr. Belzoni was led to believe, that this coating, which, Herodotus says, was begun from above, was never finished, as he discovered none of it near the base beneath the rubbish; and that of Cheops, he thinks, had never any casing. The pyramid of Myceirinus is 162 feet high, and the line of its base is 280 feet.

There is, in fact, a fourth large pyramid, though travellers generally speak of the pyramids of Djizeh as three in number. This fourth is nearly on the same diagonal line as the others, but a little more to the west. “It is one hundred feet smaller than the third, is likewise without coating, and closed, but has one peculiarity deserving remark; which is, that its summit is terminated by a single great stone, which seems to have served as a pedestal.”‡ It is, perhaps, deserving of mention, that the appearance of an Arab

* Belzoni's Narrative, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 397—427.

† This pyramid, called by the Arabian writers, the coloured (red?) pyramid, appears to have preserved its coating till the time of Abdallatif, who describes it as composed of granite.

‡ Norden, p. 76.

standing on the summit of the pyramid of Cephrenes, which he had climbed for *beksheesh*, suggested to Dr. Richardson, that a colossal statue would have been an excellent finish for the vast pedestal.

When Mr. Carne was at Djizeh, Captain Caviglia was proceeding with unconquerable perseverance in his excavations. This Traveller describes one which he visited,—“a small and beautiful gateway of fine white stone, covered with hieroglyphics, and of so fresh a colour that it seemed but lately erected. Descending about sixty feet, we entered three subterraneous apartments, one of which contained two large coffins, side by side, cut out of the rock : some little idols only were found in them. Mr. Caviglia,” it is added, “is at present engaged in what would generally be considered as an almost hopeless undertaking. He believes there is a subterraneous communication between the pyramids of Gizeh and those of Sakkara, and the remains of Memphis ; the former fifteen miles off, the latter a few miles nearer. He is sanguine of success in his attempts to discover this passage, and has proceeded some hundred yards in his excavation of the sand. There is the work of years before him, ere he can accomplish his object, though it is probable he will make some valuable discoveries by the way.”*

The pyramids of Sakkara or Dahshour, appear to be a continuation of the great cemetery to which those of Djizeh belong. The former have generally received less attention than they deserve, owing to the superior facility and security with which the latter can be

* Carne's Letters, vol. i. p. 114. This appears to have been in 1817. The date of Mr. Carne's visit is not given.

visited. Two of them only are, indeed, very large, and these are described by Norden as not inferior in grandeur to those opposite Cairo ; but their fabric is not so neat nor so well contrived as that of the others. From their being more dilapidated, he infers, that they are more ancient, and that, from them, "the model was taken and refined on, for building the others." That of Cheops, he thinks, "should rather pass for the last. You see divers things in it which shew that it has not been entirely finished ; and it is sufficient to cast your eyes upon it, to be convinced that it has a newer look than the others which are adjacent." Whereas "time has made much impression on those higher up : although they are in a climate less subject to rains and winds, yet they have not avoided suffering more than the first, which can be attributed only to the great number of years they have subsisted."* Against the conclusiveness of this argument, however, it may be objected, that any great difference in the outward preservation of these ancient monuments, originating in the circumstance of their date, would require a wider interval to have occurred between the building of the first and last than can be admitted to be very probable. For a description of the pyramids of Dahshour, (under which name, according to Norden, are comprehended all that are to the south of those of Djizeh,) we shall avail ourselves of Dr. Richardson's Narrative, premising that he visited them on descending the Nile.

"About nine o'clock, the first pyramid, *Haram Asawee*, hove in sight, looming on us over the plain, as we passed the village of Shabatabi or Shallabi. About half past four, we saw two other pyramids,

* Norden, p. 88. This opinion has been adopted by Dr. Clarke.

bearing considerably west of the first, and further removed into the desert ; but we soon lost sight of them. They are called the false pyramids*.....The pyramid Asawée stands on an elevated base, seemingly composed of heterogeneous materials. It rises up like a tower, and is different from the other pyramids. The pyramids of Dahshour next show their square, massy tops through the haze, which announce our approach to Memphis, the ancient residence of kings. Between them and the pyramid of Asawée, there are many sepulchral mounds. The murky summits of the two large pyramids first met our eye ; next, the smaller one of unburned brick, which shewed of a darker hue ; and on a nearer approach, we perceived that it was considerably disintegrated, and seemed to lessen in its dimensions. We next hove in sight of the pyramids of Sakkareh, and soon observed the rapid gradations by which one of them contracts to its summit. Between Sakkareh and Dahshour are numbers of sepulchral mounds, some of which shew at a considerable distance, and seem to have been pyramids ; but time has destroyed their angularity, and left them

* This name appears properly to belong only to that of Asaweh. "The pyramids of Dagjour," says Norden, "terminate near Meduun, where there is the most southern of all. The more distant you are from it, the more it strikes the sight; but when you approach it near, it does not seem of great consequence, being built only of large bricks hardened by the sun; which is the reason that the Arabs and the Turks call it commonly the *false pyramid*. You discover it at a great distance, and so much the more distinctly as it is not so near the mountains, nor in the neighbourhood of the other pyramids. It is elevated upon a little hill of sand. Its four sides are equal, and descend with a slope to the horizon, in form of a glacier. It has three or four degrees or steps, the lowest of which may have twenty feet of perpendicular height."—NORDEN, p. 81.

like so many rounded *tumuli*, which appeared the more insignificant the nearer we approached them. Here we left the boats, which were ordered to glide down to Mousganeh, while we procured asses, and proceeded to view the pyramids of Dahshour, which lie about half a mile to the north of the village of that name. The cultivated plain here is narrow, and the rocky flat is low and covered with sand. We measured the largest of these pyramids, which we found to be 691 feet, taking the measurement about 30 paces out from the base, which we could not reach on account of the rubbish that had fallen down at the sides. It is cased with small flags of compact, chalky limestone, which are joined by a cement of lime without any mixture of sand. It slopes up gradually to the height of fifty feet ; then it contracts suddenly, and closes at an elevation of 300 feet. It is not covered with plaster, although it appears to be so on account of the smooth white casing. The next pyramid, we found to be 704 feet line of base on the east side, and 691 on the north, on a level with the base, at 30 paces distant. This pyramid, like most of the others, has been opened, and is still accessible in the interior. It contains a handsome chamber, which exactly resembles the drawings of the Treasury of Atreus, at Mycené. It is lined with large slabs of polished granite, each of which projects into the room about six inches further than the one below it, and terminates nearly in a point at the top, and looks something like a pointed arch, though certainly not constructed on that principle.* Near to this stands

* Mr. Davison went from Abousir to Sacara, " which is an hour and a quarter distant to the S.W. At ten o'clock," he says, " we set out for the pyramids, and in about an hour's time, came to the furthest but one. It is the largest of all the range of pyramids at

the brick pyramid, which we did not measure. It is much fallen down on the north side, and looks as if

Sacara and Dashour. It is not less than 700 feet square; the perpendicular height is 343 feet; there are, in all, 184 steps. In that side which faces the north, 180 feet up, there is a passage that leads into it. Having lighted our candles, we descended, and found it 4 feet 5 inches and a quarter high, 3 feet 5 inches and a half wide, and 200 feet long. At the end of this is a passage running horizontally, 24 feet 4 inches and a half in length, which leads to a large pyramidal room 27 feet 4 inches by 11 feet 11 inches, and 43 feet 4 inches high. From this, a passage of 10 feet 4 inches conducts to another of the same dimensions. At the height of 11 feet, the stones set in six inches, one over another, for eleven together, each stone being 3 feet high.(a) At the end of the inner room, 30 feet 10 inches from the ground, there is a passage 24 feet long, 3 feet 5 inches square, which leads to a third room, differing from the former only in being 1 foot 8 inches broader. Not only all the pavement of this room, but five tiers of stones, have been forcibly taken up in search of treasure. The stones of the passage have also been taken up. There is not much of the covering preserved on this pyramid; what remains is towards the top. Early the next morning, we set out for the furthest pyramid, where we arrived in something less than an hour and a half. A little way up on the north side, is an entrance, to which one may mount, but with danger and difficulty. This pyramid has 600 feet for its base, 184 feet up to the angle, and 250 feet thence to the top, which is 30 feet broad. The passage, as far as one can advance, is 174 feet in length. It is very difficult to creep down in the lower parts, on account of the stones and rubbish with which it is at last entirely choked up. It cuts the side of the pyramid at right angles. The building, as it now stands, consists of 198 steps, namely, 68 large ones from the ground to the angle, and 130 smaller ones from that point to the top. Upon measuring one of the largest of the former, I found it to be 4 feet 2 inches; whereas the general size of those in the upper part is only 1 foot 10 inches or 2 feet. This pyramid is built of hard white stone: in some places, you see fossil remains, but not so numerous as in the large pyramid a mile to the north. From the summit, we had a most extensive prospect of the fertile plain towards the Nile, on the east of the pyramids, which is the most probable situation of Memphis, of *Jebel Ichuet* on the other side of the river, of the castle of Cairo, and of all the pyramids,

(a) The chamber referred to by Dr. Richardson.

the roof of one chamber had given way, and the walls had fallen in. The bricks are sun-dried and remarkably fresh; they have been made of mud and cut straw, in the same manner that bricks are made in Egypt at the present day. The straw is required to give tenacity to the material, which is a black, loamy, friable earth, and could not be easily formed into bricks without it. Amid the great ardour for Egyptian researches that has of late prevailed in this country, it is rather unaccountable, that this pyramid should have been so neglected; for, from the manner in which it is mentioned by Herodotus, we should have imagined that it would have been one of the first to be examined. This is probably the pyramid of Asyches, the successor of Mycerinus, who was so much attached to brick, that he put on this pyramid an inscription, declaring that it was as much superior to those built of stone, as Jove was to the rest of the deities. It would be curious to observe, how this lover of brick formed the roofs of the passages and chambers of his pyramid. If the arch were then known in Egypt, from such an avowed predilection for the material of straw and clay, we are almost warranted to infer, that he would employ it, in preference to large flat stones, which are used in the other pyramids. If, upon examination, the passages and chambers of this pyramid should be found arched, then there is an end of the question, whether or not the Egyptians possessed any knowledge of the arch.

both those of Giza and Sacara. On the tops of these great heights, the eagles build their nests: we heard the noise of the young ones as we went up. Pococke is mistaken in supposing that the angle near the middle only appears to be such from the covering above having slid down: the covering stone is on, as well above as below it."—WALPOLE'S *Memoirs*, pp. 388—80.

If, on the contrary, they should be found covered with flat stones, it would furnish a strong presumption that the arch was not known in Egypt at that time. There are also some brick pyramids in the Fayoum, which might be examined for a similar purpose.

“ Leaving the pyramids of Dahshour, we proceeded along the rocky flat, which is covered with pyramids of smaller dimensions, both of brick and stone, some of which are so ruined as absolutely to appear a perfect heap of dust ; and regained the road through the cultivated plain. Here we found ancient avenues, lined on each side with the acacia, and passed a deep lake of large dimensions, which might answer to the famed Acherusia in the neighbourhood of the Egyptian capital. In a little time we reached Metraheny, which is a considerable modern village, attached to an immense field of ruins, supposed to be part of the ancient Memphis. The sides of a large square still remain enclosed with strong mounds of earth, like the strong embankment in Thebes, at the village of El Barât, near Medinet Abou. In several places throughout the ruins, are numerous fragments of granite, covered with hieroglyphics, and so exquisitely wrought as to leave no doubt of their having belonged to some public building. Though no regular foundations can be traced here, from the accumulation of rubbish, yet, these scattered fragments probably formed part of an ancient temple, the most valuable remains of which may now be sought for at Cairo, Alexandria, or Rome. A contiguous tank, now half full of muddy water, adds probability to the conjecture.

“ The next morning, we continued our ride along the edge of the desert to the pyramids of Gheiza. The road, for part of the way, ran along the edge of

one of the mounds above mentioned. This mound, we were disposed to consider as part of the embankment which Menes is said to have built to the south of Memphis, to protect it from the waters of the Nile; but this, we are informed by Herodotus, was 100 *stadias* (about 12 miles and a half) from the city, which the mound under consideration could not have been. It is completely covered with palm-trees, and merits a more patient examination than it has yet received from any traveller. We proceeded across the plain in a N.W. direction, to the mountain, passing in our way several ancient causeways, some deep canals, and the *Bahr Yousouf*, which the labourers had not yet begun to deepen at this quarter. The plain exhibits many specimens of the finest agriculture and excellent pasture, well stocked with a most beautiful breed of black cattle. In looking at them, a person would say that models for *Apis* and *Isis* still exist in the country.

" The rocky flat all the way between Sakkareh and Abousir is covered with pyramids, some of them large; but generally they are small. The large ones are of stone; many of the small ones are of brick, and appear to be from 50 to 100 feet high. At Abousir, there are three large pyramids, but apparently smaller than those at Sakkareh or Dahshour, with many *tumuli* round them. All along the edge of the desert here, the eye is delighted with the sight of much beautiful pasture, and the tents of Bedoween Arabs spread in the field, with their flocks feeding around. Between it and Sakkareh, we passed over a well-formed avenue lined with rows of acacias. The ground sloped beautifully down to the plain, and recalled to our minds the description of the site of the palace of the kings of Egypt at Memphis. Abousir is a small,

miserable village, situated upon the edge of the desert, amid sand and rubbish, the ruins of a former village of the same name. The inhabitants call it Abousir Said. (Upper Abousir?) From this, the rocky flat is much covered with sand, and is less interesting till we come to the pyramids of Gheeza, a distance of three miles. The plain on the right is extremely beautiful and well-wooded, as is frequently the case in Egypt with the sites of ancient towns, and was so in Thebes, till of late, that the trees have all been cut down.. *Kafr Sarai* is the first village after passing Abousir: it stands at a distance on our right, in the plain, which widens considerably from the mountain range, retiring in a westerly direction. There are no villages on the rocky flat, but, near the pyramids of Gheeza, there are the remains of several, with many stones, ornamented with the usual sculpture and hieroglyphics of the ancient Egyptians.”*

Near Abousir, are the famous catacombs of birds, mentioned by Niebuhr, Davison, Clarke, and other travellers. The entrance to these is by a pit or well 22 feet deep, at the bottom of which is a horizontal passage about 60 feet in length, nearly choked up with sand, dirt, and broken jars; along which the traveller “creeps upon his face,” head foremost and candle in hand, or, if he prefers it, is dragged feet foremost by an Arab. At length, turning to the right, he finds himself in a passage high enough to allow of his walking erect; and on each side are large rooms, in which the jars containing the sacred birds were deposited. “As we followed the intricate windings of these channels,” says Dr. Clarke, “we came at last to a passage 10 feet in height and 6 in width, where the

* Richardson's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 141—154.

whole space was filled, from the floor to the roof, with the jars, in an entire state, as they were originally deposited. They were all lying horizontally, tier upon tier, the covers towards the outside. We took down several of them ; but, as fast as we removed one row, another appeared behind it ; and we were told by the Arabs, that, if hundreds were removed, the space behind would appear similarly filled up. The same appearance is presented at the extremities of all these galleries, the passages having been cleared only by the removal of these jars. For the most part, the contents of all these vessels was the same ; but there were some exceptions. Generally, after unfolding the linen swathing, we found a bird resembling the curlew, having a long beak, long legs, and white feathers tipped with black. It is certainly the same bird that Bruce has described ; called by the Arabs, *Abou Hannes.** In some of these jars, however, instead of a bird, were found parts of other animals, carefully embalmed and wrapped in linen, as the head of a monkey or of a cat, without the entire body. Such appearances are rare. Pococke relates, that, in one of the irregular apartments, he saw several jars, which might be intended for dogs or other animals : of these, he says, some have been found, but they are now very rare. We saw none of those larger jars : they all appeared to be of equal size, about 14 inches in length, of a conical form, and of the same coarse earthenware. The luting on the cover has been described as mortar, but seems rather to have consisted of the mud of the Nile.†

* See page 227.

† A little further, to the west of these catacombs, Mr. Davison saw "what seems to be a grand entrance to some tomb: the mouth of it is formed of four or five very large white stones, finely ornamented with hieroglyphics in *reliévo.*"

“A reverence for certain birds that destroy flies and serpents,” continues the learned Traveller, “seems common to the inhabitants of all countries. In almost all parts of the world, it is considered as an unpropitious omen, to put to death the swallow or the marten. The same respect has generally been paid to the stork, the heron, and their different species. The Egyptians, says Pauw, instead of being the inventors of a superstitious reverence for the stork and the ibis, brought this with them from Ethiopia, together with the worship of the cat, the weasel, the ichneumon, the sparrow-hawk, the vulture, and the screech-owl; a worship founded on the utility of those animals. It was absolutely necessary, says he, to put them under the protection of the law; otherwise the country would have been altogether uninhabitable.* The peculiar circumstances which occasioned the remarkable burial of so many of their bodies in the catacombs of Egypt, are explained by Ibn Washi, an Arabian writer, who says, that it was usual to embalm and bury an ibis at the initiation of the priests. Plutarch, moreover, mentions the burial of the ibis and of other animals held sacred among the Egyptians; and says, it was sometimes a private, and sometimes a public ceremony. The ibis, with other sacred animals, was put to death by the priests, and privately buried, as an expiatory sacrifice to avert pestilential diseases. The burial was public when any particular species of the sacred birds was to be interred.”†

* Pliny states, that the Egyptians invoked the ibis against the approach of serpents. Josephus relates, that Moses, leading an army into Ethiopia, made use of the ibis to destroy a swarm of serpents that infested his passage. In Thessaly, killing one of these birds was visited with the same punishment as homicide.—See authorities in Clarke.

† Clarke’s Travels, vol. v. pp. 230—236.

"The whole of the intermediate space between the borders of Lake Mœris and Djizeh," it has been remarked, "is so completely occupied with catacombs, temples, pyramids, and mausoleums, as to render the supposition probable, that it was one vast cemetery, in the centre of which stood the city of Memphis." The precise situation of that far-famed capital has been the subject of much learned litigation. Sicard and Shaw fix its site at Djizeh, directly opposite to Old Cairo. The arguments of the learned English Traveller may be briefly stated as follows. Pliny tells us, that Memphis was only 15 miles from the Delta; Strabo makes it only 90 furlongs, or less than 12 miles; and Ptolemy only 10' further south;* which agrees pretty nearly with the position of Djizeh, whereas Metraheny is more than thrice that distance from the Delta. And supposing that those traces of large mounds and channels at Metraheny, are the remains of the ancient Memphitic rampart, the rampart mentioned by Herodotus was 100 furlongs S. of the city; and consequently Memphis is not to be sought for at that place, but below, northward. Again, Strabo informs us, that the pyramids were placed on an eminence at the distance of 40 furlongs or five miles from Memphis; Pliny says six miles. Memphis, according to Diodorus, was 150 furlongs, or nearly 19 miles in circuit: we may therefore assign it a breadth of five or six miles; and in that case, its distance from the pyramids will sufficiently correspond to the distance between the pyramids and Djizeh, usually reckoned about 12 miles. But they are three or four times that distance from Metraheny. Herodotus states, that Memphis, by being built upon the ancient bed of the

* Point of Delta, 62° long.; 30° lat. Memphis, $61^{\circ} 50'$ long. $29^{\circ} 50'$ lat.

river, lay under the sandy mountain of Libya, which he elsewhere describes as a ridge or eminence (*λόφος*), scarcely a hundred feet above the plain. This exactly answers to the position of the plain west of Djizeh. Again, Strabo tells us, that Memphis was over against Babylon, and that the pyramids could be seen distinctly from the latter place: if, therefore, Old Cairo occupies the site of Babylon, Memphis must have been at Djizeh. Herodotus describes Memphis as situated in the straits or narrowest part (*πορτα* *ετερων*) of Egypt, as Djizeh certainly is; the Arabian side of the river being here confined by Mount Mokattam, and the Libyan by the ridge on which the pyramids are built; whereas, both above and below Djizeh, the country opens on each side.

The small district of land between the Libyan mountains and Djizeh, was formerly occupied in part by a lake, so that a very small part was left capable of cultivation. At the time of the inundation, Herodotus says, they do not sail from Naucratis to Memphis by the common channel, (viz. by Cercasora and the point of the Delta,) but over the plain along the side of the pyramids. For the main stream, being then exceedingly rapid, would render the navigation to Memphis very long and tedious; whereas, by taking advantage of the inundation, and sailing under the Libyan mountains, they arrived with greater ease on the back of the city, over against, or along the side of, the pyramids. And the original channel of the river, he moreover states, ran along the side of the sandy hills of Libya; but this old channel was dried up by bending off the river with a rampart, one hundred furlongs higher up the stream, and thereby making it flow more at equal distances between the mountains. These ramparts were repaired every year; for, if

suffered to be broken down, all Memphis, he says, would be in danger of being swallowed up by the stream. The royal edifices, indeed, Strabo tells us, were built upon rising ground; but this seems to confirm the idea that the city itself was low.* By thus diverting the course of the stream, Menes is said to have made land of what was before water. He is also stated to have caused a lake to be made on the N. and W. sides of Memphis, and to have founded the magnificent temple of Vulcan. Myris, one of his successors, built the portico of Vulcan's temple; and caused a lake to be made, with pyramids, which was afterwards called the Lake of Myris. But this lake, which has been confounded with those made by Menes, was on the *western* side of the mountain under which Memphis was situated,† and, according to Pliny, distant from the city seventy-two miles: it was also of prodigious extent. One of the lakes made by Menes was to the northward of the city: the other, the *Acherusia* of Diodorus, lay to the westward, under the *eastern* side of the ridge. And as this lake might be continued all along the side of this rocky elevation to the very neighbourhood of Sacara, it will much better accord with the story of Charon's ferrying the dead over the *Acherusia* to the plains of the mummies or the *Elysian Fields*, than the remote and extensive lake of Myris.‡

In corroboration of this clear and learned train of

* In the time of Strabo (A.D. 20), Memphis, in size and populousness, ranked next to Alexandria, having, like the latter, a population drawn from various nations. There were ports for shipping both before the city and the palace. The latter, then unoccupied and in ruins, was built on a rising ground, near the lower part of the city, and had its own grove and port adjoining.

† The present Lake of Keroun,

‡ Shaw's Suppl. to Travels, ch. iv.

argument, may be added the testimony of the Nubian Geographer. "A little to the south of Fostat," says Idrisi, "is the village of *Menf*" (the Arabian pronunciation of Memfi); "and in the country to the north of it, is the city called *Ain Shems*. They are now little more than two villages in the neighbourhood of Mount Mokattam; but it is said, they were both the favourite abodes of *Firûn* (Pharaoh): may the curse of God rest on him! With regard to *Menf*, the greater part of it is now in ruins; but *Ain Shems* is still inhabited." *

Shaw's opinion has been controverted by Pococke; Niebuhr, and D'Anville; and Bruce, Davison, Richardson, and other travellers, have been led, by the discovery of the ruins near Metraheny, to suppose that Memphis must be fixed more in that direction. "But this opinion," says the Author of the article on Egypt before referred to, "was not completely established, till the French ascertained the ground during their occupation of Egypt. 'At *Metrhaine* (*Mietraheïneh*), one league from Saccara,' says General Dugua, 'we found so many blocks of granite covered with hieroglyphics and sculpture, around and within an esplanade three leagues in circumference, enclosed by heaps of rubbish, that we were convinced that these must be the ruins of Memphis. The sight of some fragments of one of these colossi, which, Herodotus says, were erected by Sesostris at the entrance of the temple of Vulcan, would indeed have been sufficient to dispel our doubts, had any remained. The wrist of this colossus shews, that it must have been forty-eight feet high.'" †

* Cited in Ency. Metrop.

† Ency. Metrop. art. Egypt. This is evidently the ruined site near Metraheny, described by Dr. Richardson.

The account which Bruce gives of this spot, is as follows. Having left his boat at Sheikh Atman, a small village of about thirty houses, he proceeded southward through a large and thick wood of palm-trees, which appeared to have its greatest extension in a direction S. by E. He continued in this course, till he came to a village, and then to several large villages, all built amid the plantation of date-trees, so as scarcely to be seen from the shore. "These villages," he says, "are called Metrahenny. Leaving the river, we continued due west to the plantation that is called Mohannan. All to the south, in this desert, are vast numbers of pyramids. Having gained the western edge of the palm-trees at Mohannan, we have a fair view of the pyramids at Geeza, which lie in a direction nearly N.W.; as far as I can compute the distance, I think about nine miles; and as near as it was possible to judge by sight, Metrahenny, Geeza, and the centre of the three pyramids, made an isosceles triangle, or nearly so. All to the west and south of Mohannan, we saw great mounds and heaps of rubbish, and *khalishes* that were not of any length, but were lined with stone, covered and choked up in many places with earth. We saw three large granite pillars S.W. of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken chest or cistern of granite, but no obelisks or stones with hieroglyphics; and we thought the greatest part of the ruins seemed to point that way, or more southerly. These, our conductor said, were the ruins of Mi the ancient seat of the Pharaohs, kings of Egypt; he added, that there was another Mimf, far down in the Delta, by which he meant Menouf, below Terrane and *Batn el Baccara*."

"Memphis," continues this Traveller, "if situated at Metrahenny, was in the middle of the pyramids;

three of them to the N.W., and above threescore of them to the S. When Pliny said that the pyramids were between Memphis and the Delta, he meant the three large pyramids, commonly called the pyramids of Geeza. But when he spoke of the pyramids of Sak-kara, or that great multitude of pyramids southward, he said, they were between Memphis and the Arsi-noite nome ; and so they are, placing Memphis at Metrahenny." Referring to the statement of Herodotus, that Memphis lay under the sandy mountain of Libya, which is opposite to the Arabian mountain, Bruce proceeds : " Now this surely cannot be Geeza, for Geeza is under no mountain, and the Arabian mountain spoken of here, is that which comes close to the shore of Turra. Diodorus says, it was placed in the narrowest part of Egypt, and this Geeza cannot be so placed, for, by Dr. Shaw's confession, it is at least twelve miles from Geeza to the sandy mountain on which the pyramids stand, on the Libyan side * ; and on the Arabian side, there is no mountain but that on which the castle of Cairo stands, which chain begins there, and runs a considerable way into the desert, afterwards pointing S.W., till they come so near to the eastern shore, as to leave no room but for the river at Turra." Instead of being forty miles from the apex of the Delta, as Dr. Shaw supposed, Bruce affirms, that Metrahenny is not quite twenty-seven miles. The latitude which Ptolemy assigns to the Point of Delta, is really that of Cairo ; and Memphis, therefore, he argues, must be ten minutes further south. †

If Pliny's statement is to be relied upon, that the

* This is an error. See p. 296, note †. Browne makes the distance two hours and a half—between seven and eight miles.

† Bruce's Travels, vol. i. pp. 124—37.

pyramids of Memphis were between the city and the Delta, it would seem that Djizeh cannot be the site of the ancient capital. At the same time, as he makes the pyramids to be not four miles from the river, and yet seven from Memphis, it is very difficult to reconcile his statement with their actual situation, if the present channel be referred to.* On the other hand, if Memphis was opposite Babylon, and was connected by a bridge of boats with the island of Rhoda,† it is clear that it must have extended northward as far as Djizeh, which signifies the ferry. In the twelfth century, that beautiful island ‡ was still connected in this way both with Djizeh and with Fostat. Djizeh is now a small town or suburb, containing several mosques, and surrounded with palm-groves; but in the time of Idrisi, there were here “ fine buildings and lofty palaces, a market, and a college.” Near it, there was formerly “ a considerable number of pyramids, which were pulled down by a Greek named Kara-kush, one of the principal emirs under Saladin, who, being superintendent of the public works, adopted this method of procuring materials for the construction of a bridge or aqueduct of more than forty arches, which was connected with the Nile by a causeway six miles in

* Are they not nearer the Delta westward than Djizeh, and would they not be first reached by the *khalij al heram* ?

† “ The banks of the Nile, in this place of the breadth of 3000 feet, were united by two bridges, of sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by the small island of Rouda, which was covered with gardens and habitations. The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminated by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, which protected the passage of the river and the second capital of Egypt.”—GIBBON, c. li.

‡ *Raudah* or *Rouda* signifies the garden. Sir R. Wilson speaks of it as the prettiest spot in Egypt. It was formerly called *Duru 'l Mikyas*, from the Nilometer placed in a mosque at its southern extremity.

length."* A part of these works still remaining, was mistaken by Pococke for a portion of the causey mentioned by Herodotus as having been ten years in building. The inner part of these pyramids was still existing at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

That no decided traces of Memphis should remain to mark its ancient site, is the more remarkable, since, so late as the time of Abdallatif, its ruins still attested its former splendour. That writer expressly says, that Old Misr, a little above Fostat, in the province of Djizeh, is the *Menf* which was the ancient capital of the Pharaohs, and which continued to be such till ruined by Bokht-Nassr (Nebuchadnezzar). " Notwithstanding the vast extent of this city," he says, " the remote period at which it was built, the change of the dynasties to which it was subjected, the attempts made by various nations to destroy even the vestiges and obliterate every trace of it, by removing the stones and materials of which it was formed, ruining its houses, and defacing its sculptures ; notwithstanding all this, combined with what more than 4000 years must have done towards its destruction, there are yet found in it works so wonderful, that they confound even a reflecting mind, and are such as the most eloquent would be unable to describe." Among the antiquities, he specifies the *Beit-el-Akhdar*, or Green Tabernacle, a monolithic temple of granite (possibly the green breccia), 9 cubits high, 8 cubits long, and 7 broad ; the walls two feet thick ; resting upon a

* Ency. Metrop. " To the N.E., in the plain of the cultivated country, and about a mile from the pyramids, are seen two bridges of Saracen architecture. For what purpose these were constructed, cannot be discovered, as they afford at present no advantage of communication at any season of the year."—Sir R. WILSON's Hist. p. 142. Are these the work of Kara-Kush?

basis of massive blocks of granite. "It was entirely covered, within and without, with sculptures and inscriptions in the ancient character. On the outside was represented the sun in the eastern quarter, with many figures of stars, spheres, men, and animals; and on the door were figures of serpents bending forward (the Uræus). The combined strength of thousands of men could not have moved this temple, which, the Sabæans said, was dedicated to the moon, being one of the seven similar chapels dedicated to the seven planets.* The Emir Seïfu'd-din Sheikhu Omari broke

* Another of these chapels or shrines appears to have been erected at Tmai or Thmuis, in honour of Mendes, and is now called by the Arabs *Gussur* (or *Kassr*) *Tmai*, the palace of Tmai. Both Van Egmont and Sir F. Henniker refer to a celebrated temple at that place, but neither of them penetrated to Tmai; and we had overlooked the passage in Lord Valentia's Travels, in which the noble Traveller gives an account of his visit to this interesting site. The "*Gussur Tmai*" is a vast monolithic shrine of polished red Thebaic granite, 23 feet 4 inches in height, 12 feet 8 inches breadth of front, and 11 feet 3 inches in depth; the chamber being 8 feet 8 inches in breadth, and 9 feet 2 inches in depth. It stands on a pedestal of the same material 5 feet high; and that again rests on two layers 6 feet 2 inches in height; so that the whole elevation is 34 feet 7 inches. The front has been ornamented with hieroglyphics. A large crack runs down it behind, and there is another on each side, which his Lordship thought might be the effect of lightning. It had apparently a shrine of similar construction on each side of it. It stands in the centre of one side of an irregular square, 43 paces by 36, which has been walled; and there are two other inclosed areas, in which lie vast blocks of granite. One of these exhibits the figure of a ram with four horns; another has formed part of a statue three feet wide across the breast; and there are "at least twenty troughs of granite, roughly excavated, chiefly of an oval form, and which, from their being under five feet in length, could not have been intended for sarcophagi." Other ruins, mounds, heaps of pottery and broken bricks, with here and there a broken granite column, are scattered round this spot to a considerable distance; and in a deserted village adjacent, a pit was by accident broken into, in which were two hundred figures of Isis, from four to nine inches long, of a baked earth coloured blue, and var-

this Green Tabernacle in pieces, subsequently to the year 750 (A.D. 1350); and fragments of it may be seen in the convent and mosque founded by him in the Sabaeans' ward, outside of Cairo." It appears that fissures had already been occasioned by undermining this enormous mass, and destroying its equipoise. In front of it were two colossal statues. Abdallatif speaks also of pedestals on bases of vast magnitude, fragments of walls, a very lofty door-way, and idols not less admirable for the beauty of their forms and exact proportions, than for their astonishing dimensions. We measured one, he says, which, without including its pedestal, was $30\frac{1}{2}$ cubits (nearly 46 feet) in height, 10 cubits from side to side, and from back to front in the same proportion. It was of one block of red granite, covered with a coating of red varnish, the antiquity of which seemed only to increase its lustre. Two colossal lions (perhaps sphinxes), placed opposite to each other, particularly attracted his notice, from the truth of form and correctness of proportion preserved throughout. The ruins of Memphis, he remarks, at present extend the distance of half a day's journey (about nine miles) in every direction.*

nished, inscribed with hieroglyphics. To the S., is another village, where are the remains of an ancient temple and town. Here Lord Valentia observed a few blocks of granite, having the external form of a bell, but not hollowed, being five or six feet in diameter at the base. It is difficult to conceive what purpose they were intended to answer. Tmai is only about ten miles E. of Mansoura. Yet it had been described by no previous traveller.—See VALENTIA's *Travels*, vol. iii. pp. 419—423.

* Adjoining to the magnificent *Hephaesteum*, or temple of Phtha, founded by Menes, was a splendid one in honour of Osiris, in which the sacred bull Apis was kept. The Grecian Venus (*Της οὐρανοῦ θεας*) had a temple in Memphis; and, according to some authorities, the moon also. The Serapeum, or temple of Serapis, stood in a place where the sand was so loose and deep, that the sphinxes

“Gibbon has justly remarked on the dispute respecting the site of Memphis, that, “in their heat, the disputants have forgotten, that the ample space of a metropolis covers and annihilates the far greater part of the controversy.” If Memphis was, as Diodorus states, nineteen miles in circuit, it must have stretched a considerable part of the way towards Mohannan. But the nome or territory of Memphis was probably still more extensive; and if we suppose that Djizeh was the northern extremity of the Memphitic nome, and that it formed a suburb, rather than a part of the city, this will allow us a still wider latitude; although it is difficult to suppose that the city can have reached as far southward as Metrahenny. “Considerably to the north of the latter place,” Dr. Richardson says, “is the village of Mouknan,* where are many fragments of granite, granite columns, aqueducts built of Roman brick, and covered with broad flat stones, a Roman

forming an avenue in front were buried, some of them one half, and others up to the neck; and a person going to the temple was in great danger, if overtaken by a storm of wind. (Strabo, in Ency. Metrop.) Pauw conjectures, that the Serapeum, which Strabo places to the west of Memphis, is the central spot which protects and covers the grand entrance to all the numerous adits or galleries leading to the foundations of the pyramids of Djizeh, and perhaps of those of Sakkara and Dashour. It was to the discovery of this passage that M. Caviglia was directing his labours.

* This is evidently the *Mohannan* of Bruce, the *Mugna* of Norden, and the *Ummuchnan* of Davison. Norden makes *Mugna* about six leagues from Djizeh. Abeusir, according to Mr. Davison, is something less than an hour W.S.W. of Ummuchnan. Sakkara is an hour and a quarter further to the S.W. Shiekh Atmaen is opposite Turrac or Turra, and between Abousir and Sakkara on the Nile. Bruce speaks of the villages called Metrahenny, which must be a mistake. *Met* or *Miet* is an affix, contracted from *Minet*, and implying a place of habitation, i. e. an ancient site. *Miet-Rahenny* is near Sakkara, and between three and four miles from Mohannan or Mouknan. Bruce’s account is very confused.

bath about twelve feet square, and two large tanks, indicating that the granite columns had once formed part of an Egyptian temple. *Further to the north*, near a village called Memoat, there are many pits for water-wheels, built with Roman brick, and many large granite sarcophagi filled with water for the cattle, and remarkably well-built aqueducts, conveying the water all over the plain in different directions; all of them constructed of burned brick with a cement of lime, and mostly arched above. Other vestiges are still to be seen; as a large mound of earth at Memoat, having the appearance of being part of a wall; and I have no doubt," adds the learned Traveller, "that many more traces of the ancient city would be found, on a more minute and careful examination of the plain, than it was in my power to make."* It is remarkable, that Dr. Richardson could not hear of any spot that retains the original name of Menf, which Bruce confidently affirms his guide applied to the ruins S.W. of Mohannan.

Mr. Browne informs us that he visited the site of Memphis, but he has omitted to give any very precise account of its position, except such as may be gathered from the intimation, that it is most conveniently visited from the Coptic convent of *Abu-Nemrus*,† which is only two leagues south of Djizeh, and consequently far to the north of Mouknan. His description is as follows. "On another occasion, I visited the pleasant site of the ancient Memphis, on the left bank of the Nile, about two hours to the south

* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 158.

† The *Abu-numerus* of Norden, who makes it the first place on the western bank after Djizeh. Two leagues further, is *Manjelmusa*; a league and a half further, *Menahuad*; and a league further, *Mugna*.

of Kahira, in a plain above three miles broad between the river and the mountains. The land is now laid down in corn, with date-trees towards the mountains. Nothing remains except heaps of rubbish, in which are found pieces of sculptured stone. The spot has been surrounded with a canal, and seems every way a more eligible situation than Kahira. Its extent might be marked by that of the ground where remains are dug up, and which is always overgrown with a kind of thistle that seems to thrive among ruins. Of the fact of Memphis having been surrounded with water, some evidences appear even at this day. Parts of the bank of the canal are yet visible toward the mountains; and at the extremities of the ground, where ruins are distinguishable." * This certainly seems to answer in so many respects to the true situation of Memphis, that it is much to be regretted, that this Traveller has not been more explicit in his description. Should the name of Menf be found still attached to this part of the plain, it would be decisive of the question. In that case, the vestiges at Memoat, which Dr. Richardson thought might be those of the *northern* wall of Memphis, may indicate its southern boundary. The name of *Kasr Serai* (Infidel Palace?), the first village after passing Abousir in the road to Djizeh, would lead us to look for ancient traces in that direction; nor is it impossible that that village may occupy the site of the palace of the Pharaohs. The future traveller will do well to dismiss from his recollection, all that has been hypothetically advanced on either side, and to explore with attention the whole plain between Abu-Nemrus and Moknan, as if he were the first European traveller that had visited it, trusting to no other

guidance than the existence of his senses and actual measurement. Then, at length, we may hope to obtain some clear and satisfactory information on the subject.

But what then, it may be inquired, are the ruins at Metrahenny? They cannot, it seems clear, be those of Memphis; nor does "an esplanade, of three leagues in circumference," correspond to the immense circuit of the Egyptian capital. Between Aphroditopolis (*Atfihh*) and Memphis, however, we are told, but nearer to the latter, and at some distance from the western bank of the river, stood the town of Acanthus, and near it, a celebrated temple of Osiris in a grove of the Thebaic thorn or acacia; to the north-west of which, near the edge of the flat summit of the Libyan hills, the pyramids are represented as standing.* This description applies so precisely to the situation of Metrahenny, as to render it highly probable, that the enclosed site is no other than that of Acanthus, while the name of Abousir seems to refer to the temple and its divinity. Between Abousir and Sakkara are the acacia groves which arrested the attention of Dr. Richardson, and which are noticed by Hasselquist as abounding with the *kervan* or oriental dotterel, so much valued by the Turks and Egyptians for its song.† Here, too, the former Traveller was struck with the rich and well-stocked pastures, and with the beautiful breed of black cattle which recalled to mind the brute object of the old idolatry. Our great poet's assertion, though true in the sense intended, does not literally hold good:

* Strabo, xvii. 1. cited in Ency. Metrop. The Thebaic thorn is described as the tree producing the gum (Arabic). It is the *acacia vera* or *mimosa Nilotica*, called by the Arabs *charad*.

† Hasselquist, p. 200.

"Nor is Osiris seen
In Memphian grove or green,
Trampling the unshowered grass with lowings loud."*

His temple, indeed, is fallen, and Apis is no longer tended by his priests; but his lowings may yet be heard in Memphian pastures, and the tree which formed the sacred grove, still retains possession of the soil.

We must not bid adieu to the Pyramids without adverting to the interminable discussions relating to the design and character of these wonderful structures. That they are sepulchral monuments, it would now be absurd to deny. They stand in the midst of a vast cemetery, surrounded with smaller *tumuli*, and the rock on which they are founded, is hollowed out into catacombs. These plains were called by the Egyptians *Kahi-mhau*, the land of tombs or caves, which the Greeks wrote *Kοχωμην*, and translated Necropolis.† To this vast repository of the dead, there is perhaps an allusion in the prophetic declaration respecting the Jewish refugees: "Memphis shall bury them."‡ On the opposite side of the river, a little above Cairo, there are also numerous sepulchral excavations, which

* Milton. Ode on the Nativity.

† Bruce, vol. i. p. 128. Note by Dr. Murray.

‡ Hosea, ix. 6. This is the only place, we believe, in which the word Memphis occurs in the Received Version, although that city is supposed to be the subject of repeated reference (See Isa. xix. 13. Jer. ii. 16. xliv. 1. xlvi. 14, 19. Ezek. xxx. 13, 16) under the name of *Noph*, which bears an obvious relation to the *Menouf* of the Copts and Arabs. Memphis is the Greek form of the Egyptian name, which, according to Plutarch, signifies ὁρμη αγαθων, the port of the good: it was therefore a compound word, *Men* (answering apparently to the Arabic *minna*, a port) being an affix, and *Nouf* or *Noph*, being the distinguishing appellative. It is also found with the article prefixed, in the form of *Panouph*, i.e. PI-Nouf.—See CALMET's Dict. art. *Memphis*. *Nouf* is evidently no other than the God *Xouphis*, the *Aγαθοδαμην* of the Egyptian pantheon.

merit a more careful examination than they have hitherto received, as they probably belonged either to Memphis, or to the settlements of Jewish, Phrygian, or Babylonian colonists.* It is difficult, at the same time, to believe that the complicated and scientific structure of the larger pyramids had no further object than to enclose a *soros*, whether tenanted or empty, whether designed for the remains of a tyrant or the relics of a god, a Cheops or a Serapis, or the patriarch Joseph himself.† In all the pyramids that have

* Richardson, vol. ii. p. 170. Half a league above Old Cairo, is the village of *Kater Nebby* (Atter-el-nebbl), which takes its name from a mosque held in high veneration, from the tradition that the Khalif Omar, in going down to the place where this mosque was afterwards founded, left the print of his foot upon a marble. Within this mosque is a gallery of antique columns, the capitals serving for pedestals. Norden, p. 49. Is this the mosque in the Sabaeans' ward? A little above this village, Dr. Richardson noticed "the remains of an old pier on each side of the river, with numerous fragments of granite, stones, and pottery-ware, probably indicating the place where the granite and other columns of Memphis, and the stone from the neighbouring quarries, were embarked for Cairo or Alexandria. This place is a little below the village of Toura, the ancient Troja, which was founded by a migration of Trojans from Asia Minor." The sepulchral quarries are nearer Cairo. From the roof of one of the chambers, Dr. Richardson's guide copied an inscription in the enchorial character.

† Shaw, unwilling to admit that they were merely designed as sepulchres, supposes the *soros* to have been "a chest concerned in the mystical worship of Osiris, or wherein either the images of their deities, or their sacred vestments or utensils were kept, or else a *favissa* or cistern."—SHAW's *Observ.* pp. 417—20. Milton has an allusion to the mystic rites connected with the lost body of Osiris, in the hymn before cited :

" Nor can he be at rest
Within his sacred chest."

Dr. Clarke has been at some pains to collect authorities for the opinion, that the annual mourning for the loss of the body of Osiris, and the exhibition of an empty *soros* on those occasions, were ceremonies derived from the loss of Joseph's body, which was carried away at the *exodus* of the Israelites. Many learned writers

hitherto been opened, either at Djizeh or at Sakkara, amounting to at least six, the entrance has been found near the centre on the northern face, whence the passage invariably slants downward at an angle of 26° or 27° . This uniformity in their construction, taken in connexion with the exact position of their four faces towards the four cardinal points, has been thought to afford sanction to the hypothesis, that some astronomical purpose was intended to be answered—possibly the correction of their measurements of time—by this remarkable peculiarity. Others have supposed them to be immense temples or fire-altars raised to the god of day;* or rather, to the father of the sun, "who shines night and day," the great Hephaistos or Phthah. "The pyramids, in Coptic called *Pi-re-moue*, the sun-beam," says the learned Editor of Bruce's *Travels*, "were sepulchral monuments, bearing the same name with the obelisk. Both were sacred to this deity. The pyramid was formed on the model of the obelisk, as much as the compound materials of one could imitate the unity and solid mass of the other."†

have contended for the identity of Serapis and the Hebrew patriarch, who is believed to have been worshipped under the form of Apis. *Arsaph*, according to Plutarch, was a title of Osiris; and many curious coincidences might be adduced as giving plausibility to the theory. But the learned Traveller wholly fails in his attempt to establish a connexion between the honours paid to Joseph and the building of the pyramids.—See CLARKE'S *Travels*, vol. v. pp. 245—70. May not the chest of the *Mawula*, in the obscure rites of the Druses, be a remnant of the superstition relating to the body of Osiris, the Adonis of Syria?—See MOD. TRAV. *Syria*, vol. i. p. 99.

* The hypothesis maintained by De Pauw.

† Bruce's *Travels*, vol. i. p. 137, note. That the obelisk was sacred to the sun, is attested by all the ancient writers. "A pyramid or obelisk," says Dr. Shaw, "that is, an equilateral or acute-angled triangle with two equal sides, denoted the nature and element of fire."—SHAW'S *Observ.* pp. 407, 410. See also NORDEN,

The variation in the figure of the pyramids, however, makes rather against the correctness of this representation. Those of Sakkara, Dahshour, and Meduun bear no conceivable relation to the obelisk, and these are supposed to be the most ancient of this class of monuments. Dr. Clarke was led to suppose, from the form of some of these, that the *tumulus* was the original model of the pyramid. Sometimes it formed a stupendous pedestal to a colossus. Yet, under all these modifications, it always preserved its character as a sepulchral monument.

The number of the pyramids, as well as the variation in their form, militates strongly against the supposition that they were designed as a sort of astronomical apparatus.* If those of Djizeh were constructed with any such intent, it must have been dictated, in those particular instances, by the more enlightened views of the architect; and this design must have been grafted, as it were, upon their original purpose. But ad-

pp. 96—104. A plausible but mistaken derivation of the word from $\pi\upsilon\zeta$, fire, or $\pi\upsilon\zeta\alpha$, a pyre, was long supposed to yield support to this opinion. Others have derived the word from $\pi\upsilon\zeta\sigma$, wheat, and $\alpha\mu\alpha\omega$, I gather; having adopted the strangely absurd idea, that the first pyramids were constructed by the patriarch Joseph as *granaries*! Volney suggests a Hebrew etymology, *bour-a-mit*, pit or cave of the dead. In Dr. Jones's Gr. Lexicon, a similar derivation is adopted—*bar-muth*, a pit of death. Between a pit and a pyramid, the identity is not very obvious.

* This notion seems chiefly to rest upon the ascertained fact, that the inclination of their adits "gives a line of direction not far removed from that point in the heavens where the north polar star now crosses the meridian below the pole; and the observation of the passage of this or some other star across this part of the meridian, would give them an accurate measure of sidereal time."—See *Quart. Rev.* vol. xix, pp. 106—9. RICHARDSON's *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 130, 133. According to Proclus, the Egyptian priests made their astronomical observations on the summit.—See GREAVES's *Pyramiographia*, p. 99.

mitting that the pyramid was a sacred figure, and that there was a significance in the form of these monuments, or that astronomical science prescribed their position, this will not prove that they were primarily designed either as temples or as observatories, or that they were consecrated to any deity. Are we then to suppose that they were merely designed as mansions in which their barbaric founders "vainly hoped to slumber out the three thousand years of transmigration, the assigned period after which they should return to humanity?" Why, for this purpose, were so many chambers necessary? Why the double entrance, each with its granite portcullis, and all the intricate architecture of the interior? It seems to us the most probable explanation, that they were intended to serve, in subordination to their sacred character as sepulchres, the purpose of treasuries; that, with this view, they were rendered disguised fortresses; that the professed and known entrance was closed after the admission of the *soros*, a secret entrance being reserved, which was known only to the priests. The vulgar notion of the Arabs, that treasure is concealed in the ancient monuments, a notion which has led to so many discoveries and to so much destruction, doubtless originated in fact.* The pyramids were opened by the Mohammedan conquerors with this expectation; and although it does not appear that any discoveries of concealed treasure were made, this would only prove, what indeed what might have been anticipated, that those

* "I cannot but suspect," remarks Lord Valentia, "that the conquerors of this country found treasure concealed in some of the stones of the ancient edifices; and that the expectation of finding more, led to the laborious destruction of these massive temples, which seem to have been constructed to bid defiance to time itself," —vol. iii. p. 423.

who had had the art to conceal, had also the precaution to withdraw what they had deposited, or that the treasury had been long exhausted. They may nevertheless at the same time have been made use of for the purposes of priestcraft and imposture.

The period at which the Great Pyramids were erected, is another point which has occupied much learned discussion. By Perizonius and others, the workmen are supposed to have been the Israelites ; and Dr. Clarke has contended for the strange notion, that the pyramid of Cheops was built to receive the body of the patriarch Joseph.* Diodorus and Pliny confess that every thing relating to their origin was uncertain ; † and the Arabian writers solve the mystery by informing us, that they were built before the Deluge ‡ Others, on the contrary, are for assigning them a date which, in speaking of Egypt, might almost be termed modern. Homer mentions Thebes and its hundred gates, but has not noticed the pyramids. Is it probable, it has been asked, that he would have omitted to speak of them, if they had been erected in his time ? § In confirmation of this view, it may be re-

* This notion is at total variance with the idea, that the Israelites were compelled to labour in building pyramids for their oppressors in the reign of a Pharaoh who knew not Joseph ; and it is strange, that the learned writer did not perceive the contradiction in his statements. For the latter opinion, we have the authority of Josephus.

† Diodorus says: " *At de Pyramidibus nullus omnino, nec apud indigenos, nec inter scriptores, est consensus.*"

‡ Van Egmont seems half disposed to adopt this solution of the difficulty. " But however this be, I can with great truth affirm, that on the top of the largest pyramid, we find a kind of soft stone nearly resembling our chalk, in which we discovered a congeries of shells and a petrified lentisk fruit." — *Travels*, vol. ii. 93.

§ Goguet. *Walpole's Memoirs*, p. 356. Dr. Hales, in his *Chronology*, refers them to a remote period,

marked, that Herodotus believed them to have been built only twelve generations before the time of Cambyses. Cheops, the builder of the largest pyramid, is stated to have flourished, indeed, nearly a hundred years before Homer; * but Asychis, the successor of Mycerinus, is said to have reigned about 815 B.C.; which date, if correct, would require the reign of Cheops to be brought down much later. Upon the whole, the most probable opinion is that which assigns them to a period between 1000 and 800 years B.C.

The absence of hieroglyphic inscriptions in these stupendous structures, has been accounted for on the supposition, that the founders were of a foreign and intrusive dynasty, hostile to the religion of their subjects, and that the priests refused to record their names in the sacred character. In that case, however, it might have been expected, that there would be found, if not hieroglyphic inscriptions, some records in a different character. It cannot be supposed, that a dynasty of sovereigns who could command such architects, were at any loss for secretaries. Herodotus, in fact, refers to an inscription engraved on the pyramid of Cheops, which, he says, was in Egyptian characters, but it has been doubted whether he means hieroglyphics.† Dr. Hales supposes them to have

* B.C. 1032. Homer flourished, according to Blair, B.C. 900; according to Priestley, B.C. 850.

† This inscription stated, that 1000 talents were expended in procuring radishes, onions, and garlick for the workmen during the progress of the building. There is now no appearance whatever that this pyramid was ever coated; and the fact has been doubted. Yet, Herodotus states, that it was coated and finished in the highest style, and describes the process by which it was accomplished, from the summit downwards. This statement is corroborated by Pliny, Abdallatif, and others; and Dr. Richardson suggests, that the removal of the coating by the Saracens may ac-

been alphabetic characters: if so, they would not be the less curious. Ibn Haukal speaks of Syrian and Greek inscriptions which covered some part of the pyramids: the latter were probably of late date, and might have been written by Greeks who visited these monuments. On the other hand, Abdallatif states, that he saw a prodigious number of hieroglyphic inscriptions on the two great pyramids; as many as, if copied, would fill perhaps 10,000 volumes. Other Arabic writers prior to Abdallatif, have also mentioned the hieroglyphics on the pyramids.* The removal of the coating would account for their disappearance. Yet, among the pyramids of Sakkara and Dahshour, there is one on which the covering is pretty entire,

count for the great damage sustained by the steps all round; while the rolling down of the immense stones from the top, may have occasioned the middle of the steps to be more injured than the angles.

* Walpole's Memoirs, pp. 365—8. Dr. Richardson thinks, that Abdallatif may be understood as referring to the inscriptions in the chambers cut out of the rocks on which the pyramids are built, which are exceedingly numerous. "As the evidence of hieroglyphics being on the pyramids does not descend to us from the most ancient authority," he remarks, (that is, supposing Herodotus not to affirm this,) "and as none of those whose coverings remain have any, we may be permitted to express our doubts as to the existence of this sacred character on those which are uncovered; and I do so with the greater confidence, because I have never seen in any part of the country, from the one end of Egypt to the other, any building, or any tomb or excavation, ornamented with hieroglyphics on the exterior, that was not also covered with them in the interior. . . . Generally speaking, every temple, every tomb, and every sarcophagus in Egypt, whether of granite, alabaster, limestone, or even the ordinary mummy case of wood, are all covered with hieroglyphics."—Travels, vol. i. pp. 143, 4. The absence of hieroglyphics from the *soroi* discovered in the pyramids, is certainly more remarkable than there being no inscriptions on the exterior. Father Vansleb declares, that he saw some hieroglyphics upon some of the pyramids.

but no inscription has been found upon it. In one of these pyramids, however, which was opened at the expense of Baron Von Minutoli in 1821, the door of one chamber is stated to be bordered with hieroglyphics in relief, and over another are hieroglyphics traced in black. The walls are covered with a kind of mosaic, consisting of convex pieces of green porcelain ingeniously fixed in stucco. An immense quantity of fragments of marble and alabaster vases lay scattered in the passages and chambers, proving that the pyramid had been previously opened by violence, and by a different entrance. The richly gilded scull, hands, and feet of a mummy, supposed to be those of the monarch, were obtained from this pyramid by the General; also, the well-preserved head of a sacred vulture; but unfortunately, many very valuable articles were stolen by the workmen on the first opening of the pyramid. The largest of the chambers, the walls of which were blackened by the smoke of torches, " contained, instead of a sarcophagus, a small sanctuary, formed of several blocks of stone placed one upon another, into which a man could easily enter, and from which the voice of the oracle was probably made to issue."* This idea, if well founded, would

* "Recollections of Egypt by Baroness V. Minutoli," p. 82. Cabinet of Foreign Voyages, p. 387. Not having access to the Baron's own work, we regret that we can give only this imperfect notice of so interesting a discovery. The pyramid in question is stated to be "the great pyramid of Sakara;" but this must be a mistake, since of the larger of the two, Mr. Davison had given a minute account: it is probably the one further southward. See p. 331. Its base is stated to be not a perfect square, but an oblong, and its sides do not face the cardinal points, like those of Djizeh. "It is, besides, enclosed with a wall fourteen feet thick, built in seven breaks like steps, and is, in fact, merely the coating of an immense rocky nucleus, in which the passages and chambers are hewn." Five and twenty Arabs were employed by the General

certainly tend to throw a new light upon the design of these mysterious labyrinths ; as it would indicate that, like the cave of Trophonius, the pyramidal sepulchre at Telmessus, and the *Kassr-el-Keroun* near Lake Moeris, they had been made subservient to the purposes of oracular jugglery.* It deserves in this point of view to be investigated, whether the peculiar construction of the chambers and passages is connected with any acoustic phenomena.

The custom of combining the temple and the tomb, is known to have prevailed very extensively among the ancients. By this means, a greater degree of respect was secured towards the places where the dead were deposited. In general, the temple or fane was erected on the summit of the *tumulus*, or over the sepulchre.† This is the case with the Mexican *teocallis*, which exhibit so striking an affinity to the pyramids of the Old Continent. But sometimes, the *taphos* itself was the temple. With a view either to enhance the sacredness of the sepulchre, or to turn to account the superstitious reverence for the depositaries of the dead, the pyramids, then, like the cave, the catacomb, and the tumulus, may have been applied to

during two and twenty days in clearing the entrance which he is said to have discovered. In order to reach the interior, they had to descend into a shaft or well fifty feet deep. The sand of the desert, soon after, again blocked up the entrance.

* See Mod. Trav., Greece, vol. ii. p. 324. Syria, &c. vol. ii. p. 229 ; and vol. ii. of the present work, p. 10, note. The sepulchres at Telmessus seem to bear a remarkable affinity to the Egyptian structures.

† " The prevalence of this practice is evident from that remarkable expression of Athenagoras, who calls the temples of the ancients, tombs (*ταφοί*). This name was afterwards retorted by Libanius, Julian, Eunapius, and other Pagans upon the Christians, when they began to practise the custom of burying the bones of martyrs in their churches."—See Remarks on Sepulchres, in WALPOLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 231.

various *secondary* objects. The error of most writers on this subject has consisted in their mistaking the secondary object for the primary one, or in overlooking the probability, that monuments of the same exterior form and character, might have at once a common purpose,—that of enclosing the ashes of the dead, and a peculiarity of object suited to the views and policy of the founder. The tomb has been alternately applied, by the wily tyrant or more crafty priest, to the widely different purposes of the fortress, the prison, the sanctuary, the treasury, the observatory, the oracular shrine.* Still, under every modi-

* The learning of Humboldt could alone do justice to the curious subject here glanced at. The *teocallis* and pyramids of Mexico are remarkable instances of the combination of the sepulchral and sacred character. The pyramids of *San Juan de Tontihuacan* near Mexico, dedicated to the Sun, and Moon, in the midst of a vast cemetery, surrounded with smaller *tumuli*, must be regarded as bearing a very striking analogy to the cemetery of Memphis. What is highly remarkable is, that their sides are said to face the four cardinal points. The pyramidal mound of *Xochicalco*, in the road from Acapulco to Mexico, the four faces of which likewise correspond to the cardinal points, seems to unite a military to a sacred character, and to be a fortified sanctuary. The pyramid of *Cholula*, which is a little higher than that of Mycerinus, but with a base almost double that of the great pyramid of Cheops, encloses several sepulchral chambers, while its summit was surmounted by a temple to the Mexican Indra, which served also as an observatory. In like manner, the temple of *Belus* was at once a pyramid, a temple, and an observatory. Conjecture only assigns to the Cretan labyrinth a sepulchral character: its secondary object may have been, either the concealment of property, or the security of prisoners, or both. The quarry and the natural cave have been frequently tenanted in turn by the living and the dead. The robber, the shepherd, the fugitive, the Christian confessor, the hermit, the juggling hierophant, has alternately had his den, or cell, or grotto, in crypta and caves of the earth. Among sepulchral edifices, the Treasury of Atreus, or Tomb of Agamemnon, at Mycenæ, is remarkable for its approaching the character of the Egyptian architecture. The Treasury at Messene, probably a sepulchre, was used as a state

sification, its ostensible object has been the same,—to provide a habitation for the immortal dead; agreeably to the touching and beautiful sentiment which Sophocles puts into the mouth of the daughter of Oedipus:

" Our latest, longest home
Is with the dead; and therefore would I please
The lifeless, not the living. I shall rest
For ever there." *

The seductive interest of the subject has led us into this lengthened discussion. With regard to the pyramids of Djizeh, there is one circumstance by which, as works of art, they are peculiarly distinguished, but which makes, perhaps, somewhat against their remote antiquity, and that is, the very superior style in which the materials are put together. "The joinings and polish of the granite casings in the interior," says Dr. Richardson, "equally manifest the eminent skill of the artist, and the great perfection that the art had attained. Many a structure must have been erected, before any architect could be capable of constructing them. The manner in which the materials are put together, is as different from the construction of the temples or any other building in Egypt, as a Roman wall is from a Grecian one. The sarcophagi are also different in size, form, cutting, and workmanship. The body of the pyramid throughout is of the most substantial description. Not a stone has slipped from its place: it stands, with the security of a mountain, the most indestructible pile that human ingenuity ever reared."

prison.—See *Mon. TRAV.*, *Greece*, vol. ii. pp. 64—82; 87—90. *Ibid.*, *Mexico*, vol. i. pp. 255, 338. *WALPOLE's Cont. of Memoirs*, pp. 405—7.

* *Dale's Sophocles*, vol. i. p. 220.

Hasselquist, however, has described a rival work under the very shadow of these gigantic structures, from which it might be deemed fanciful to suppose that the architect borrowed his idea, but he must at least yield to their authors the palm of ingenuity. After visiting the pyramids, "I was determined," says the worthy pupil of Linneaus, "to know whether stones alone must satisfy my curiosity, and if a burning sand had excluded every thing that had life from this place. If I had not searched attentively, I should certainly have been of this opinion, and have confirmed what I was told in Cairo, that no living creature, much less a plant, was to be found near the pyramids. The earth is of such a nature here, that, to many persons, it would appear a miracle, if any animal or plant could here find nourishment or sustenance. I found, however, both:—one single plant, the gum-succory (*chondrilla juncea*); of animals, the little lizard, running in numbers on the sand. But what most pleased me was the lion-ant (*hemerobius formicaleo*); which insects have a republic of their own. They run by hundreds in the sand, each holding stone, sand, or rotten bits of wood between their curious jaws or *maxillæ*, and hastening with them to the dwellings they have made in the sand. I saw numbers of this insect's nests. They were thrown up in tufts in the sand, about the bigness of the two fists, and a little depressed at the top. In the middle of this depression was a little hole, about the bigness of a small pipe-stem, through which they went in and out. I attacked them within their intrenchments, in hopes of seeing the internal construction of their nests; but I was deceived, and only demolished their out-works, from which went a private passage, so artfully conducted, that it was in vain to endeavour to come to

their innermost dwelling. All the architecture, magnificence, and expense that shine in the excellent Pyramids, cannot give a contemplator of Nature such high ideas as are excited by the art of these little creatures."* He who spake as never man spake, has admonished us, that Solomon, in all his glory, was not arrayed in splendour equal to that of the golden lily of Syrian fields. And from these insect troglodytes may be learned a similar lesson;—that man, in the proudest of his works, is outdone by the ant, the coral-worm, or the bee, in the nicer operations of instinct; so that the naturalist may point to one of these minute elevations, and say, that even the pyramids in all their glory, display less wondrous art than one of these.

* Hasselquist, p. 70.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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